

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE *of* SOCIAL WORK

[FORMERLY NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION]

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AT THE SIXTY-FIRST ANNUAL SESSION HELD IN
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI
MAY 20-26, 1934

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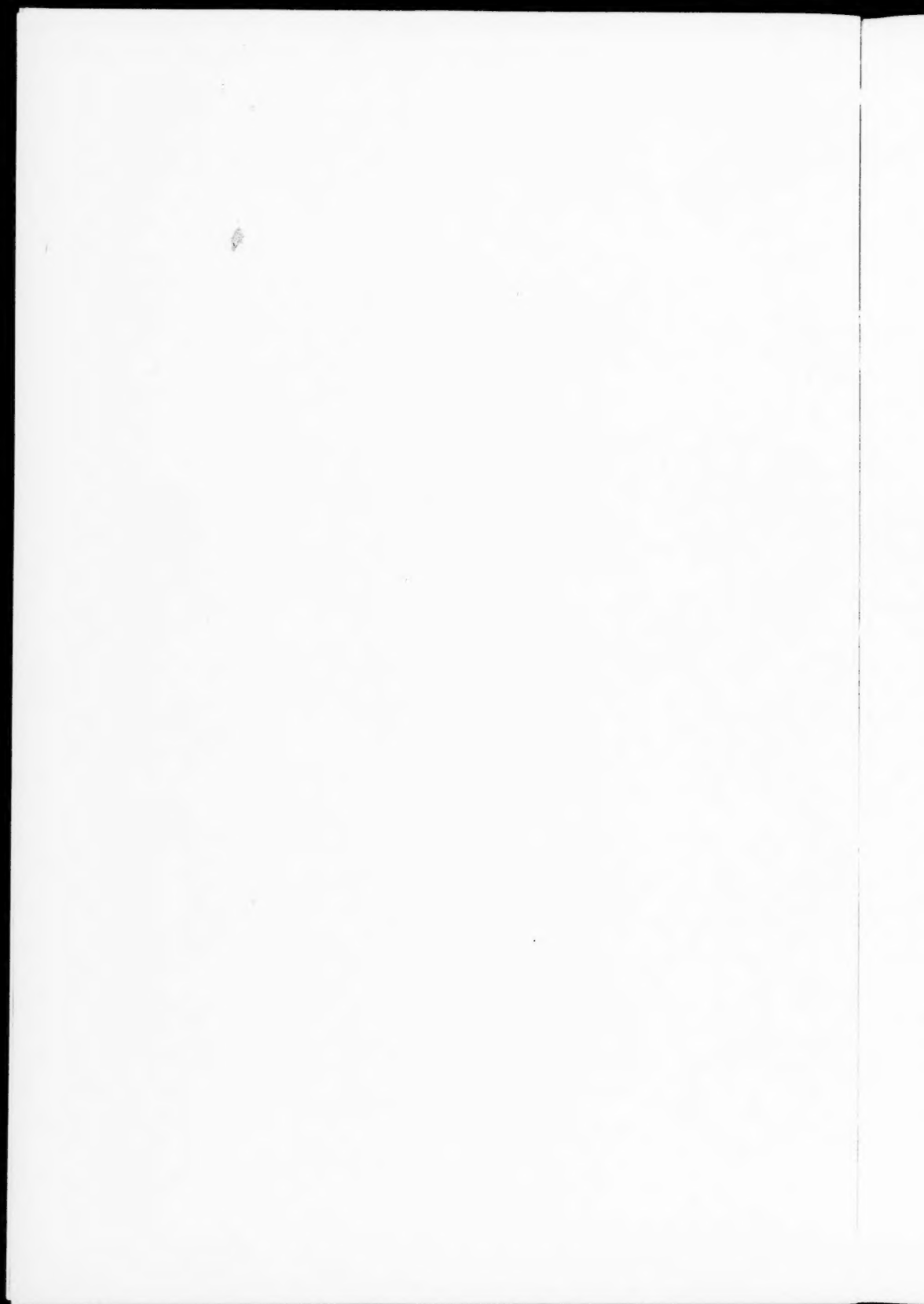
FOREWORD

THE Executive Committee presents to the membership this volume containing the *Proceedings* of the 1934 Conference. The Editorial Committee, which assisted in the process of preparing the material for publication, consisted of Jessie F. Binford, Chicago; Mary Hurlbutt, New York City; Paul Benjamin, Buffalo; and the following persons, serving ex officio: William Hodson, president of the 1934 Conference, and Howard R. Knight, editor of the *Proceedings*.

The publication of the *Proceedings* imposes upon the Editorial Committee the task of selection with the condensing or abridging of some of the material presented. It should, however, be made clear that the publication of a manuscript does not imply that the views set forth have been indorsed either by the Conference or by the Editorial Committee, since the Conference is not a legislative body but serves primarily as a forum for the presentation of the varying viewpoints of changes and developments in the field of social work.

The Editorial Committee wishes again to emphasize the fact that the omission of a paper from the *Proceedings* does not reflect on its value to the Conference. It may have served a very useful purpose, stimulating thought and discussion at the time of the meeting. Such considerations as publication of similar material in social-work literature or previous volumes of the *Proceedings*, the local character of projects discussed, permanent value, space in the volume, etc., may have led the Committee to omit or abridge the paper.

The Editorial Committee wishes to express its appreciation to the authors who submitted their manuscripts and to the division chairmen who assisted in the selection of papers for this volume. Mr. Stanley Lawrence has been of great assistance in editing the manuscripts for publication and reading the proofs.



WINNERS OF THE PUGSLEY AWARD

THE Editorial Committee of the National Conference of Social Work voted the Pugsley award for "the paper or papers adjudged to have made the most important contribution to the subject matter of social work," delivered at the annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work in Kansas City, to two nationally known social workers, Miss Mary van Kleeck, director of industrial studies, Russell Sage Foundation, for her address, "Our Illusions Regarding Government," and to Eduard C. Lindeman, professor of philosophy of the New York School of Social Work, for his "Basic Unities of Social Work."

Miss van Kleeck challenged social workers to "more decisive formulation of their purposes, more aggressive action toward their attainment, and for both of these a closer association with the workers' groups." She urged them to question the assumption that government participation in relief and social welfare will solve present-day problems. She declared that human rights are not attainable without struggle, and that the standards of living of the working people should be the primary and sole concern of all branches of social work.

Mr. Lindeman laid bare the division and confusion in the minds of social workers and declared that their profession would not find unity within itself until it found a basic unity in society. "We can have the sort of society we want, relatively," he said. "A variety of planned society is possible under American conditions which involves both collectivism and the democratic principle." He analyzed the whole field of social work, stated the basic unities underlying its different aims and methods, and pointed the way to its potential developments.

The Editorial Committee chose these two papers from more than one hundred presented at the Conference, feeling that each was an outstanding contribution with special significance at the present time.

JESSIE F. BINFORD, *Chairman*

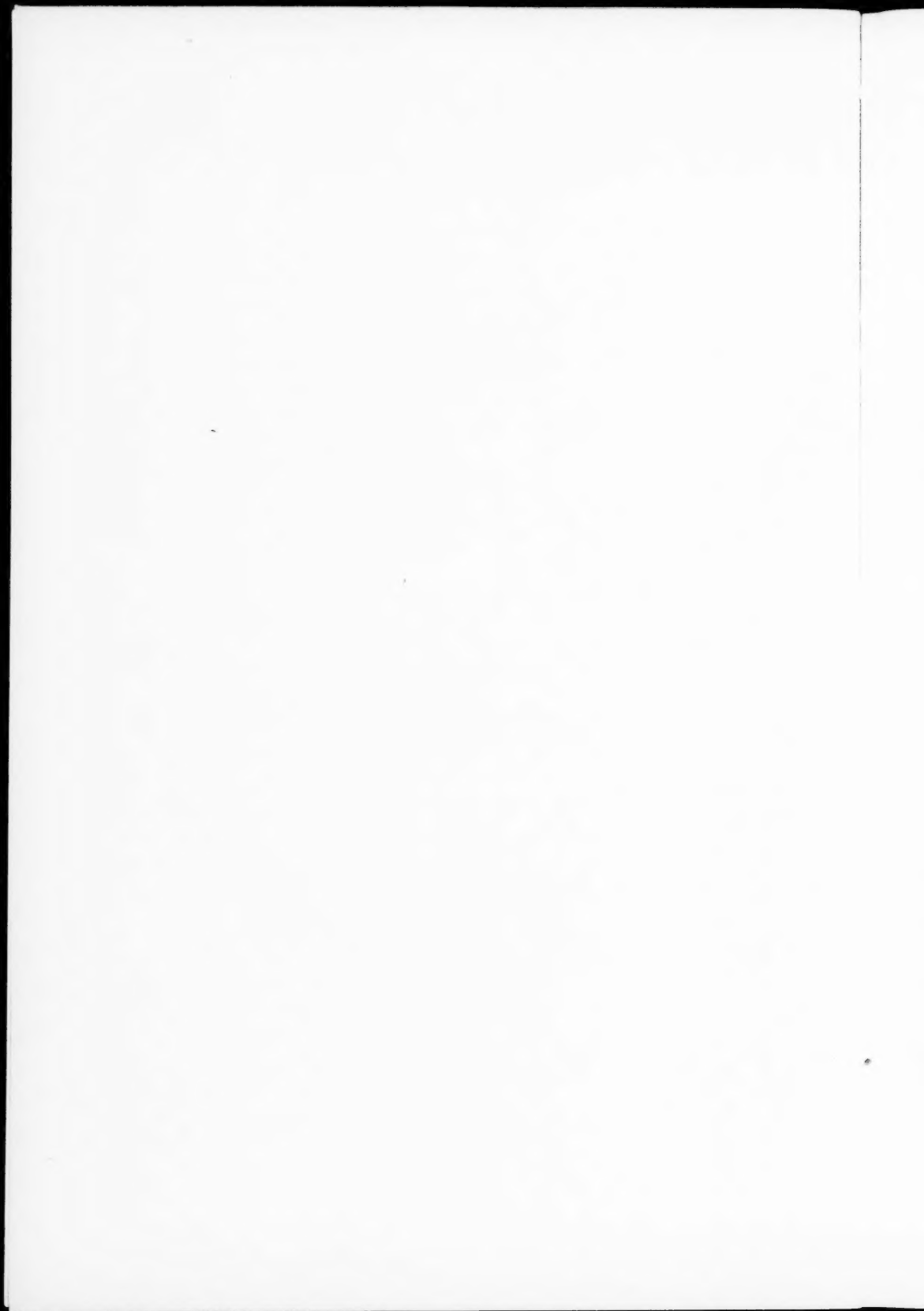


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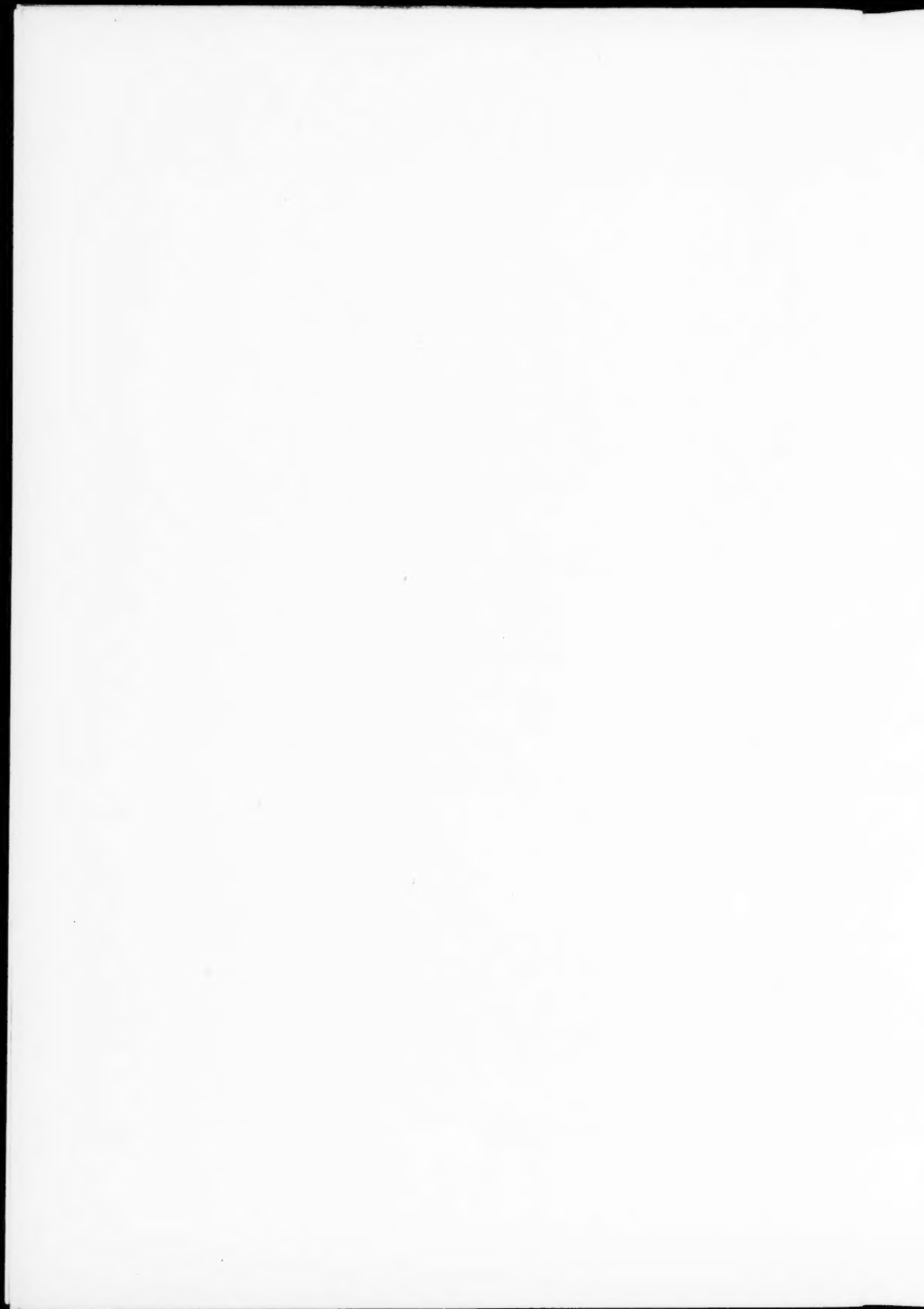
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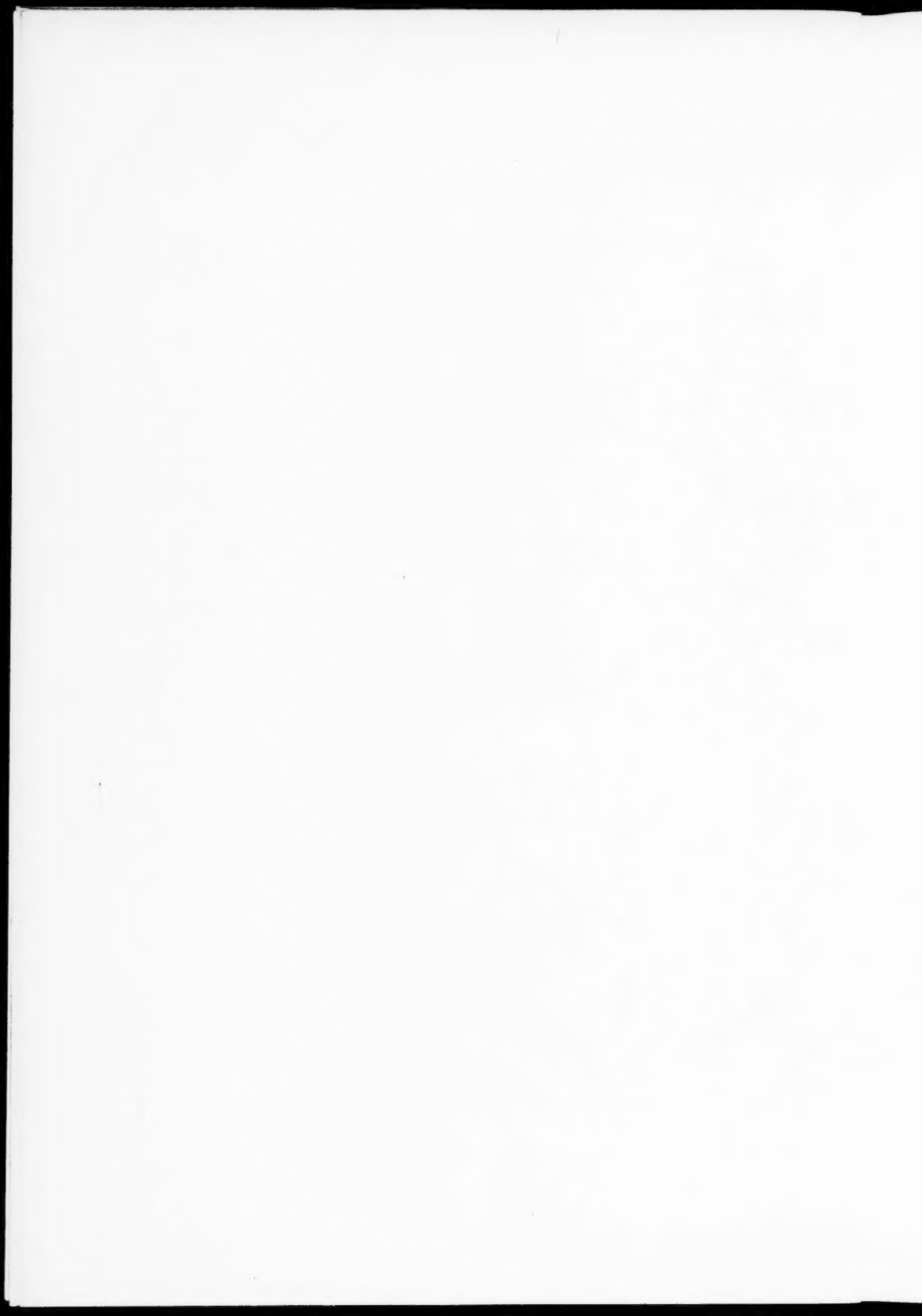
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GENERAL SESSIONS



THE SOCIAL WORKER IN THE NEW DEAL

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

*William Hodson, Commissioner, City Department
of Public Welfare, New York City*

THE National Conference of Social Work convenes for the fifth time since the blight of industrial depression and the resulting widespread unemployment settled on this country and the world. The intervening years have been filled with tragedy for millions of people, and the social worker has labored valiantly against tremendous odds to mitigate the suffering that faced him on every hand. As we pause at this time to consider the problems of the day and of the morrow, it may be worth while to review some aspects of our past experience and to look back upon the road over which we have traveled during the last five years.

Every social worker will recall the major characteristics of our national psychology following the *débâcle* in the fall of 1929. Governmental officials and the people generally regarded an extended depression in the United States of America as an utter impossibility. Had we not been through the period of our greatest national prosperity? What could possibly happen to destroy that prosperity? True, the bottom had fallen out of the stock market and, while it was very painful, the situation could be regarded as only a temporary phenomenon. We still had our land, our natural resources, and our labor, and trained business men and industrial leaders would most certainly be capable of righting the economic ship and steering her into port safely. The thinking of the nation was dominated by confirmed optimism and wish-fulfilment. It would be only a matter of months or, at the outside, a year before everything would be adjusted and the people of the country could carry on in the normal way.

As the years of depression went by, this confirmed belief that recovery was at hand became a fervent hope which became dimmer as the years passed. However, the idea that the depression would be of short duration dominated the plans and organization for relief and assistance to the unemployed. Since the occasion of unemployment was temporary, the means devised to deal with its consequences were likewise temporary in form and emergency in character. All that was thought to be necessary was temporary subsistence for those out of work until such time as they would be returned to employment. As late as the fall of 1931 the President of the United States declared that the nation-wide community-chest campaigns would provide sufficient funds to enable private philanthropy to carry the load of unemployment relief. Some of the community campaigns for relief funds were frankly based upon the proposition that the current campaign would be the last one needed to meet the situation because better times were sure to be with us in the year just ahead. It was thought that private philanthropy could carry the load in spite of the fact that approximately 70 per cent of relief expenditures in the country as a whole were then being provided out of the public treasury.

As it became more apparent to the nation that unemployment-relief funds must be secured through taxation rather than through voluntary contributions to private agencies, it also became increasingly clear that the overwhelming burden of relief expenditures could not be borne by the localities unaided and that the credit and resources of the federal government must be brought to the aid of the sorely pressed local governments. On October 13, 1931, in an open letter to the President of the United States, I called attention to the fact that it was the duty of the federal government at least to study the situation carefully and to determine whether the established system of federal grants-in-aid to the states for such purposes as road-building, education, infant hygiene, etc., should not be extended to unemployment relief. The President was not impressed with the necessity for any such inquiry and the social workers took up the

cudgels to secure federal unemployment-relief legislation with the necessary appropriations to make that legislation effective. After a long battle, and with the aid of the valiant and socially minded Costigan and LaFollette in the Senate, the federal government assumed a substantial measure of responsibility for financing relief, and the credit for this result belongs very largely to the social workers of the country.

The unwillingness or the inability of the country to face the realities of the situation and to discern the long-time permanent effects of economic depression account for the fact that the administration of relief in cities, counties, states, and the nation was carried on by temporary emergency organizations set up almost overnight and with no thought that a really permanent structure would have to be erected on the insecure and unstable foundations which were then in existence. The financing of relief has not been, and is not now considered, as a part of the permanent budget of governmental units. The funds are largely raised by borrowing on the theory that the need is temporary and that the costs of this emergency relief should be spread over a period of years with the burden falling on future generations as well as the present one. We have now reached the point where the annual amortization of these obligations has reached large figures and has become a part of the permanent obligations of the city and state governments. The current financing of relief is more or less on a month-to-month basis without the possibility of long-time planning and that sense of reasonable security for the unemployed to which they are entitled.

Along with makeshifts in administration and finance has come inadequate and poorly paid personnel. In the city of New York the rank and file of employees in the Home Relief Bureau were chosen on the basis of need and not primarily because they were qualified to do the very difficult tasks assigned to them. While this is no longer true in New York City, we are still suffering severely from the handicap of inadequately equipped personnel, and the community has been slow to realize that social investigators should not be chosen from the ranks of the

unemployed simply because they are in need of a job. As the attempt to secure qualified personnel and to pay decent compensation moves forward, the ever present cry of costly "overhead" becomes more articulate and persistent.

But apart from questions of administrative organization is the all-important problem of the effect upon the morale of millions of our citizens who through no fault of their own are dependent upon public assistance. They are idle and dependent; they see no prospect of useful and self-respecting employment; they are haunted by a sense of insecurity. They are bewildered by the changes of policy which various governmental units put into effect from time to time as the exigencies of the situation seem to demand. Take, for example, the Civil Works Administration program organized by the federal government in November of 1933. The federal government said in effect that the time had come to provide real work and real wages for the unemployed. We were no longer willing to keep the people of this country at the subsistence level. The man or woman who wanted a job should have it regardless of whether he was destitute or not. This splendidly conceived program of work and wages was devised not only as a means of self-respecting livelihood for people but also to increase purchasing power and thus to prime the industrial pump. In effect, the government was providing employment assurance while the plans for unemployment insurance were under consideration. The launching of the C.W.A. was a historic moment in the history of government in the United States of America. Four million men and women were put to work with but little waste of time and effort. Here was an element of security for the unemployed in the midst of the doubts and fears which harassed them. With full appreciation of all that was accomplished, and without thought of criticism merely for the sake of criticism, I say it was a tragedy when the federal government abandoned the C.W.A. program on March 31, 1934. It is true that the President had announced the program as temporary in nature; nevertheless the people of the country believed that civil works would be carried

on and tapered off gradually as the employment index throughout the country rose and people could leave civil-works employment for jobs in regular industry. This was not to be, and the sudden transition from work and wages, without a needs test, to work relief on the basis of destitution was a bitter shock to the unemployed. The shifting of administrative responsibility from the federal government to the localities imposed an overwhelming burden upon them which they assumed reluctantly and carried out with many mistakes and frequently with great hardship to those whom they sought to serve.

Social workers are not only conscious of the growing dissatisfaction on the part of the unemployed with a relief system which barely keeps body and soul together, but they fully sympathize with that dissatisfaction. So long as we must rely upon relief as a partial substitute for the pay envelope, it is a matter of fundamental importance that relief shall be adequate enough to maintain a decent minimum standard of living. Food and shelter are not enough. Something must be provided for clothing, for medical care, and for those simple but essential miscellaneous expenditures which alone can preserve the dignity of family life. This country will never tolerate again a situation in which the unemployed must reach a state of complete exhaustion and destitution before assistance can be extended to them. A more humane and enlightened public opinion will demand that relief shall be administered in a way which encourages thrift, sustains morale, and makes it possible for those who are out of work to face the future with some courage and hope. The social worker has always advocated adequate relief, and while opinions will vary as to what constitutes adequacy, there will be little difference of opinion that relief as now administered is intolerably inadequate. In spite of the long-established conviction of social workers in executive and administrative positions as to the necessity for maintaining a decent standard of living through a period of depression, they are faced with sharp limitations because the funds provided are not sufficient to carry out this ideal. Every administrator faces daily the necessity for com-

promising between the amount which he knows is needed for relief and the amount which he can reasonably expect to get from the appropriating authorities. This dilemma takes on more serious proportions when it is realized that the relief administration is part and parcel of the whole governmental structure in city, state, and nation. At what point is the administrator of relief justified in asserting publicly and perhaps critically that he has not been granted the funds necessary to do the job as it ought to be done? Such action constitutes a direct attack upon the city administration of which the relief administrator is a part. It is of course obvious that the situation in a given locality may become so bad as to require the conscientious administrator to resign his post in public protest. On the other hand, the quiet, persistent effort to demonstrate the extent of the need and thus, through persuasion, to secure more adequate appropriations is, within limits, the only practical course which can be followed. In the long run it is likely to produce better results. The whole question is one which must be decided in the light of the particular facts and circumstances of a particular community, and the only guide for the public welfare official is his conscience. In any event there can be no disagreement with the proposition that relief should be sufficient to maintain a decent level of existence. The ultimate cost to government in terms of present and future citizenship that is broken and depleted is staggering to contemplate, and a heavy relief expenditure in the time of greatest need is an insurance policy on national morale for the future. In terms of cold finance, it is not only the better but the cheaper way.

So as we look back over the experience of the last five years, we recognize the absolute necessity of establishing relief administration as a permanent function of government which has long since ceased to be either a temporary or an emergency matter. The organization of relief machinery should be set up and financed exactly as any other function of government would be. This principle applies to every branch of government involved—the city, the state, and the federal government. In the

last analysis it is always the local unit which carries the actual administrative burden. The state and the federal government must share the financial burden and provide leadership in the establishment of efficient standards of work. All three units of government are members of a partnership which calls for the closest kind of planning and integration between them. Policies and regulations established in the national and state capitals must be carefully weighed in the light of their effect upon the local government which must carry them out and with full recognition of the fact that these local units vary widely in their needs, their methods of work, and their capacities to do the things required of them. At the same time the financing of relief must be based upon the budget principle. Any other permanent function of government is budgeted over a defined period of time. Relief departments cannot continue to live on a hand-to-mouth basis and serve the community as it should be served. Those communities which are ready and willing to do their part by contributing a fair proportionate share of the total cost of relief should not be penalized by having other communities refuse to assume any share of their obligation, thus throwing the whole burden upon the federal government. The regularization and stabilization of the financing of relief is a matter of immediate necessity and of sound social policy.

While we shall always be faced with the necessity of providing direct relief for a considerable proportion of our population for many years to come, and while relief administration must be made as decent and humane as it is possible to make it, the fact remains that what the people of this country crave more than anything else is security. They believe that government and industry co-operatively should be able to insure a respectable livelihood for everyone able and willing to work, with provision against the hazards of unemployment whether that unemployment is caused by the industrial cycle, by ill health, or by old age. The necessity for a national program of unemployment insurance is now so well recognized as to need no further argument. The precise form and method of administering such in-

insurance is still a subject on which there are legitimate differences of opinion. But unemployment insurance is merely one phase of the total problem. A national plan for security means the setting-up on a national and co-ordinated basis of a system of unemployment exchanges, unemployment insurance, old-age security, and health insurance. We may well profit by the experience of Great Britain, which has dealt with the unemployment problem more successfully than we have done in this country. Great Britain has not relied primarily upon direct relief to the unemployed, but has made relief supplemental to a national program of social insurance. The wisdom of a national program supported by the federal government is clear not only because of the necessity of securing a reasonable measure of uniformity of policy throughout the country and a higher minimum standard of performance, but in order to provide the funds necessary to maintain such a program of security in every part of the land. The states and localities have limited and frequently inflexible powers of taxation, whereas the federal government has a broad-basis credit and few limitations upon its power to tax. In spite of the emergency expenditures thus far made by the federal government mounting into the billions, it has by no means approached the end of its resources either in terms of impairing its credit or in terms of its ability to levy and collect further taxes.

Beyond relief and beyond security through social insurance lies the great question of steady work at a decent wage and an equitable sharing by the people as a whole in the material goods and the spiritual values out of the abundance available. How can we order our civilization so that industry provides a good life for the workers, and government keeps as its constant aim the well-being of the whole people? There is of course no final answer to this question and there never will be. The struggle for human betterment is age-old; it transcends the structure of government, economic systems, and forms of industrial organization. The struggle for power is usually a struggle for money, but the substitution of authority or prestige for material goods

would not alter the passion of men to seize and abuse what they desire to possess. Under whatever form of industrial and governmental organization men create for themselves, there is the same necessity for ceaseless effort to curb greed and the ruthless exploitation of power. The social worker who looks beyond his immediate job to the larger questions of fundamental reform has three choices open to him. The first is to go on in the old way, hoping that chance and good fortune will bring us out of our troubles. The American people have obviously rejected that choice. The second is to modify the existing economic order in such fundamental ways as will serve the well-being of the people as a whole. This, I take it, is the objective of the present national administration. The third is to destroy the present economic and industrial order and to substitute in its place something new and different. Some would achieve this result by peaceful means and through orderly process, while others achieve it peaceably if possible but by force if necessary. Speaking for myself, I am not ready to say that the second course of action—namely, that of building more wisely upon the foundations already laid or of reconstructing those foundations—has yet been proved a hopeless task. The job is slower and more difficult than many had hoped it would be, but there is still time, and human progress has always been achieved, and always will be achieved, through the hardest kind of toil and effort. What we are seeking is the greatest good for the greatest number, with a full realization of the fact that government exists for men and not men for government. However, there is no easy royal road to widespread human happiness. For centuries we have struggled with the problem of the good life and as yet have found no sure and final answer anywhere in the world. Our choice is not between what is clearly for the good of the people and what is clearly bad, because we do not know what will surely produce happiness and security for people in the mass. Nevertheless we must strive steadily and persistently toward the common good, and the real issue becomes one of the road we shall travel. By what means can we achieve the better life—a

life that takes account not only of food, shelter, and clothing and the necessities of existence, but a creative and spiritual experience? Recent history has demonstrated that a violent break with the established order is more likely to bring a Fascist régime than any other form of government. Certainly in this country Fascism and not Communism would be the probable result of breakdown in democratic government. What a devastating tragedy to the suffering mass of American people a Fascist government would be! It is hardly possible that the American people are ready to flee from the dangers they know and recognize to the dangers they know not of.

The social worker must therefore decide the road he wishes to travel, and in making that choice he must face the full realities of the situation. So long as he remains a beneficiary of the existing order, he will be expected to support the fundamental principles upon which that order is based, always reserving the right to advocate change and modification of the methods by which those principles find practical expression in the life of the community. The weaknesses and defects in our economic life are all too clear, but the question to be faced is whether these defects can be eliminated through the evolutionary processes of democracy or whether revolutionary action must be relied upon to secure the desired results. I believe the American People will find a way out within the framework of the institutions which they have already established. Certainly no other course has been suggested with sufficient definiteness to permit intelligent discussion by those who wish to be guided by discriminating judgment rather than fanatical adherence to a cause.

Despite all the perplexities and discouragements of the day, the social worker faces the future unafraid. With a courageous spirit and with enthusiasm for his task, he accepts the tremendous responsibility which is his now and for the future. In that task he will be fortified by the accumulated experience of the profession of which he is a part and stimulated by the ideals of human service for which that profession stands.

THE FEDERAL EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION: ITS PROBLEMS AND SIGNIFICANCE

*C. M. Bookman, Executive Secretary,
Community Chest, Cincinnati*

THE Federal Emergency Relief Administration is the greatest organized effort ever made by this country in times of peace to relieve nation-wide distress. As a nation we felt securely prosperous, when suddenly adversity descended upon us and we found ourselves unprepared to meet the emergency. Almost overnight the abnormal replaced the normal. Organizations which we had come to regard as stable came crashing down, and instability and chaos threatened to supplant stability and order in our whole economic and social fabric.

Following a series of unsuccessful attempts to meet the unprecedented need, the F.E.R.A. was organized in May, 1933. If we remember that it was an emergency organization, formed in the face of terrible pressure, hurriedly articulated and manned by men drafted for emergency service, we shall be able to give to it that sympathetic and understanding analysis without which we can make no proper evaluation of it or gain any intelligent understanding of its contribution to this country in a time when immediate and socially effective action was imperative.

In order to understand it as it really is, we must look deeper than the policies adopted, the standards established, and the programs initiated. We must understand the problems it was called upon to solve, the surprising dearth of verifiable factual information at its disposal, and the almost total absence of machinery with which to establish effective protection against con-

ditions of distress which were threatening to become overwhelming.

There has already been much discussion of relatively unimportant aspects of its program—in many minds there has been a confusion of details with essentials. The time has come to gain perspective, to attempt to see things in their true relationships and relative importances.

I. THE PRESENT DEPRESSION UNPARALLELED

Unemployment was no new phenomenon in American experience, but when we raise even the most familiar thing to the *n*th degree, that fact in itself lifts it out of the usual and gives to it an overshadowing importance.

Since 1920 unemployment has been an increasing problem. It showed a steady increase even during the years 1926-29 and, rapidly mounting during the depression, reached unheard-of heights in March, 1933, when employment in manufacturing industries dropped to 55 per cent of the 1926 average. The per cent of workers unemployed then probably amounted to almost half the total employable strength of the country. Since then unemployment has declined, because of improvement of conditions and various programs undertaken by the government, to approximately 25 per cent of the employable workers.

In the light of careful estimates which have been made, it now seems probable that during the depths of the present depression there were fifteen million employable workers in the United States unemployed.

II. RELIEF TRENDS OF THE LAST FORTY YEARS

We have always been unprepared to cope with the problems raised by each successive depression, and the minute we commence to convalesce from a depression, we begin to forget its lessons. There has, however, during this depression, been an increasing recognition of the fact that relief needs, resulting from widespread unemployment caused by maladjustments in our

economic and social organization, are a public responsibility and should be met by funds supplied through taxation.

Public works.—The present depression is also the first one in which we have seriously attempted to carry out public works on a national scale, and our experience has demonstrated that such works must be planned in advance of depressions and must be carried out on a huge scale if they are to be effective.

The Civil Works Administration was a large, short-time work program combining both public works and work relief and yielding many undoubted values, but, like all mixed programs, it had certain inevitable weaknesses. The federal conservation camps for young men have been primarily work-relief projects, as were also civil works service projects and work camps for transients.

The trouble with all of these has been that there was not time to think out programs carefully in advance, nor are we, as yet, sufficiently far away from them to correctly analyze their meaning or evaluate their results.

Changing philosophy of public relief.—The present depression has, however, brought about a fundamental psychologic change in the public mind as regards relief made necessary by social maladjustment. We are witnessing a growing repudiation of laissez faire and an increasing acknowledgment of social responsibility for both social planning and social action.

III. IMMEDIATE PRECEDENTS OF THE RELIEF ADMINISTRATION

A quick review of the relief activities of the present depression will throw some light on the opportunities, as well as the limitations, which faced the F.E.R.A. when it came into being.

1. 1929-30.—The increased unemployment load was carried during the winter of 1929-30 by the regular agencies, public and private.
2. 1930-31.—Relief failed to decline normally in the summer of 1930 and citizens' emergency committees were widely organized late in that year. The governors of many states appointed state committees of leading citizens and the President's Emergency Committee for the Unemployed was organized in November, 1930, and functioned as a national adviser and clearing house for these movements. The winter of 1930-31 was char-

acterized by a rapid increase of private relief funds, the administration of large public funds by private agencies, and by a wide extension of work-relief programs.

3. *1931-32.*—During this period state aid for relief began to appear and played a large part in some states. Growing numbers of homeless migrants appeared, and labor camps, particularly in the Forestry Service in California, were developed for both migrants and local homeless men. These camps were precursors of those developed the following year under the F.E.R.A. Barter units and various associations for self-help were organized.
4. *1932-33.*—This fourth winter was marked by the entry of the federal government into the financing of relief through loans by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. The relief measures of the first two winters were locally financed; of the third, locally with the help of some of the states; while the fourth called out the combined efforts of communities, states, and the nation. On July 27, 1932, the R.F.C. set aside three hundred million dollars for relief loans to government units, but large amounts of public moneys were still being administered by private agencies.
5. *1933-34.*—The F.E.R.A. was established in May, 1933. Unemployment relief was largely taken over by public agencies under the direction of state and federal emergency-relief organization. The fifth winter was characterized by increasing control of the federal government over relief, and in all but eleven states the larger part of relief funds was supplied by the federal government.

The policy of loans to states that prevailed in the winter of 1932-33 was probably a necessary first step in bringing the federal government into direct contact with unemployment relief, and it emphasized the fact that the federal government must make large appropriations for unemployment needs, that it must assume leadership in meeting these needs, and that states and local communities must be persuaded or compelled to bear a just share of the responsibility.

In March, 1933, one out of every seven individuals of our total population was receiving relief, and the relief being given to them was wholly inadequate. We were facing a crisis, and we had begun to question whether our institutions could survive the tremendous pressure that human want and economic insecurity were placing upon them.

It was then that the Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933 was passed—an act providing five hundred million dollars to meet a billion-dollar need. I say a billion-dollar need, for in my

judgment the relief program of the nation could not have been carried out with even reasonable adequacy from May, 1933, to May, 1934, for less than that amount.

IV. INITIAL PROBLEMS OF THE RELIEF ADMINISTRATION

The theory back of the Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933 was that of a partnership between the federal government, the states, and the local communities in meeting the financial need. The F.E.R.A. was anxious to establish sound principles and at the same time to provide adequate relief for the unemployed. Sound standards for relief were prepared and issued in the summer of 1933—standards that could be carried out if sufficient money were secured.

At this time the individual states were finding it exceedingly difficult to meet their regular expenditures, owing to a shrinkage in the amount of taxes being paid, and both states and local communities hesitated to apply the standards of relief set up by the F.E.R.A., because to do so would have been to increase the amount of money necessary to be raised by state taxes. There was also a widespread belief that the federal government either was meeting, or would meet, all unemployment needs.

The F.E.R.A. had two methods by which it could bring pressure to bear upon the states. Unless the state agreed in advance to an adequate financial sharing with the federal government, the administration could refuse federal grants, or it could take over the administration of a state's relief program.

Both methods were fraught with danger. In the first case, the unemployed would suffer needless privation through delay in appropriations, and in the second, the chances were that the federal government would be called upon to finance a continuously increasing share of the load, and for this it would not have sufficient money.

The inadequate amount appropriated by the Federal Emergency Relief Act, rather than the administration of the Act, can be charged with responsibility for much of the ineffectiveness of relief procedure. The federal administrator tried in every way to

determine the extent to which a state could, and should, participate in the program adopted, and without hesitation granted a larger percentage of federal funds to those states showing smaller resources of their own.

In view of what has occurred, the question may well be raised whether, in the interest of the unemployed, it might not be better for the federal government to assume a larger financial share in the relief program under such relationships with states and local communities as would insure more careful administration.

V. AN EVALUATION OF THE RELIEF ADMINISTRATION

Unemployment relief made a function of the public welfare department.—One of the first official acts of the federal administrator was to issue an order that federal funds must be expended by public agencies. This was a revolutionary change and bids fair to be of lasting significance. The tremendous administrative task involved in changing the entire structure of unemployment relief, however, influenced the federal relief administrator to permit the use of private agency personnel under the control and direction of public agencies.

In most sections of the country this permissive ruling was used to strengthen public welfare department activities, but there were other sections of the country in which it was used as an excuse to continue, under the letter of the law, if not in its spirit, the subsidizing of private social work by public funds.

A national transient program established.—Another significant accomplishment of the F.E.R.A. in 1933 was the initiation and remarkable development of a federal program for transients. From the beginning this program faced the opposition of local officials and encountered prejudices against nonresident dependents, but the foundations laid by the Transient Department in the fall of 1933, in my opinion, gave promise of a national transient program, adequate both in scope and in effectiveness. In my judgment the care of transients must become a national undertaking, controlled, paid for, and administered by the federal government.

At the present time the program of transient relief is an integral part of the relief program of the state—each state director of relief retains final administrative responsibility for its enforcement. There is a lurking danger here that with the present administration set-up the whole plan of transient service will ultimately be back on a local basis, with each state and local community avoiding responsibility for transients under the great pressure to take care of its own resident dependents. There is slight prospect for progress in the care of transient dependents unless this care shall be given under complete federal control.

The work-relief program.—When it came to the work-relief program, the F.E.R.A. immediately added great momentum to an already widespread movement for providing work instead of straight relief for the unemployed, and it was estimated that on November 1, 1933, approximately two million people were on work relief.

One phase of the work-relief program provided work relief in education; in this way many rural schools were enabled to avoid closing, and adult education and special vocational training were provided. This part of the program was highly constructive and furnished much-needed relief to a part of the population who had been, up to that time, virtually ignored.

A woman's work program.—In September, 1933, the F.E.R.A. established a Woman's Work Division, and as a result of this, there was ready at the time of the creation of the C.W.A. a country-wide organization able to put into operation a wide variety of projects.

These programs could and would have been made much more effective if sufficient funds had been appropriated and had there been assurance given to the states that federal appropriations would be continued to carry on the projects established.

Drought relief.—At the very beginning the F.E.R.A. had to face the results of severe drought in some of the states, and it adopted special plans of relief for meeting this emergency—plans calling for grants from the relief fund to supply feed for

live stock, seed for planting, and also work relief and straight relief. The P.W.A. co-operated with the F.E.R.A. on these work programs.

Aid to self-help associations.—The Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933 also provided for aid to co-operatives and self-help associations for the barter of goods and services. The F.E.R.A. gave encouragement to such activities, but they have developed on a very limited scale.

Surplus products.—During the summer of 1933 the Agricultural Adjustment Administration found its plan being blocked by a huge surplus of agricultural products, and the F.E.R.A. arranged to distribute part of this surplus as material relief. It laid down the principle that this distribution should be in addition to the regular quota of relief.

At the very time that the F.E.R.A. was recommending cash relief instead of relief in kind, it found itself sponsoring the largest program of relief in kind ever undertaken in this nation. This program was contrary to approved practices, but under conditions then existing it appeared to be a wise procedure. However, the more or less indiscriminate distribution of surplus products undoubtedly had a demoralizing influence upon many of those receiving them, and should cause us to take careful thought before again making any wholesale distribution of surplus products as a relief measure.

Standards of relief.—A study of the records reveals that widely divergent amounts of relief were given per family in various parts of the country, and in few sections could it be considered even reasonably adequate, and that while there was a steady improvement in standards of relief, the quality of case work continued to be below par because case-workers were carrying case loads too heavy to permit of effective service.

Despite heroic efforts made to improve case-work service, it is doubtful if there was much improvement during 1933; but it is fair, however, to say that one of the most significant contributions of the F.E.R.A. has been the recognition which it has given to the importance of case work in the administration of relief.

Civil works administration.—Many factors entered into the creation of the C.W.A. The principle of work instead of direct relief had by this time become a fairly well-fixed policy and work relief was already employing two million people on projects, many of which were of questionable value. Spot studies made in certain parts of the country indicated that there had been a breakdown in the morale of the unemployed to a point that unprecedentedly large numbers were being classified as unemployables. We discovered that we were building up in this country a perpetual unemployment group regardless of the extent of business recovery. It is doubtful if any relief policy, however well organized, can care for millions of people without serious demoralizing effects.

The truism that the only cure for unemployment is employment was to be given a searching test. The civil-works program was announced to the press on November 8, and during the following week the staff of the F.E.R.A. undertook the staggering task of setting up a system by which four million men might speedily and effectively be given work on useful jobs.

The P.W.A. allocated four hundred million dollars of public-works funds with which to employ four million men between November 15 and February 15. On November 16 the program was officially begun, and by November 20 all persons on work relief had been transferred to pay-rolls of the C.W.A. Work relief throughout the United States was abolished, and by January 18 over four million workers were employed.

The undertaking was a gigantic one—one that necessarily had to be done at tremendous speed—and there is danger that some of the mistakes made may cause us to lose sight of much that was sound in it and much of the good accomplished by it.

From the beginning, the C.W.A. had an unfortunate mixture of programs. It was a recovery measure designed to put money into circulation at a time when it was most needed by industry, and at the same time to give work to the unemployed on a basis of their need as well as of their employability. In other words, it was a combination of a public-works program, doing short-

time jobs on an efficiency basis, and a work-relief program. The wage rates maintained were the ones established by the P.W.A., and in many cases these were higher than the existing rate for the same kind of work in local communities. As a result of this, there were scattered instances of workers quitting their regular work in order to get C.W.A. jobs.

Because of the administration of the C.W.A. by a nation-wide relief organization, the public, throughout the entire course of its existence, insisted upon regarding it largely as a relief measure, and the result of this belief was that self-respecting men, who had accepted C.W.A. jobs in good faith on the belief that they were made available regardless of the applicant's need for relief, found themselves objects of neighborhood criticism and even on trial before public committees established for that purpose. The morale of many of the unemployed who failed to get C.W.A. jobs—more than three out of every four who applied for such jobs—was lowered to even greater depths than before by seeing neighbors who had less need for it given work.

Politics played no part in the administration of either the relief program or the C.W.A. program so far as the F.E.R.A. was concerned, but in local communities it inevitably crept into the administration of such a huge project. The conclusion must be drawn that whatever rules may come from Washington governing a program such as this, the application of these rules in local communities will never rise much higher than the social consciousness of the community in which they are being applied.

It seems reasonable to believe, as a result of the C.W.A. activities, that any fund administered by relief departments of government must, in the future, be administered upon a basis of need, and that work-relief principles are sound in the carrying-out of work programs by relief departments. Funds that are to be used with the thought of increasing consuming power should be administered through other agencies of government on an efficiency basis.

It became evident soon after the program got under way that insufficient money was available to carry it on beyond February

1, and the President, himself, in announcing the program, had clearly indicated that it was to continue only for the winter months. The public, however, almost universally held to the belief that the program would continue as long as it was needed.

Because of difficulties inherent in the program itself, and also because of the gradual absorbing of millions of unemployed by improving business, the decision was reached that the C.W.A. should gradually demobilize, and that it should definitely disappear from the national program on May 1, with work relief taking its place for those who were still in need of such opportunity; but, because of the increasing realization of the huge financial obligation being incurred by the C.W.A., it was brought to an abrupt close on March 31.

The C.W.A. cannot be evaluated solely from the standpoint either of relief or of public works because it was an admixture of both. Viewed solely as a relief measure, it was an extravagant procedure; and it also obviously resulted in a great many relief applications from those who were disappointed in getting C.W.A. jobs; but we must, however, take into consideration the other values that came out of the C.W.A. and not regard it wholly as a relief measure.

It is natural that in the enthusiasm of the moment, and in face of the urgent demand that some effort be made to relieve the suffering caused by unemployment, the possible recovery value of the C.W.A. was not forecast as accurately as it might have been, but we can still maintain a reasonable claim that it was helpful during the time of its continuance, not only to the unemployed, but also the consumption-goods industries and retail trade. On a basis of twelve million unemployed, the C.W.A. could at best offer a job to only one in three of all the unemployed, and yet the four million on the C.W.A. rolls represented 16 per cent of all those gainfully employed for wages and salaries in 1932.

If we count that the billion dollars estimated by the federal administrator was the total spent for the C.W.A., it was slightly over 2 per cent of the total national income paid out in wages in

1932 and about 3 per cent of the total paid out for wages and salaries in the same year. Such an amount could not be expected to have had a very marked effect upon business recovery.

Probably the most serious defect of the C.W.A. was the hope that it built up in the hearts of millions of unemployed, and then dashed to earth, that at last a job at a reasonable wage was to be provided for them by their government until such time as industry could re-employ them. That hope cannot again be established by any program we may now devise. It was a serious thing to destroy the confidence and break down the morale of ten to twelve million people who, through no fault of their own, had endured four years of privation and want.

In the future it is to be hoped that we may be wise enough to provide two separate work programs—one, a public-works program employing men selected on an efficiency basis and carried out by the regular departments of government ordinarily doing such work, and the other, a work-relief program under supervision of case-workers and primarily designed as social therapy for those to whom work has been given.

VI. THE PRESENT SITUATION IN RELIEF

Upon the discontinuance of the C.W.A., the F.E.R.A. announced a threefold program—a rural program, an urban program, and a program for stranded populations. Work relief was reinstated with need the basis of employment. Civil-works and direct-relief programs, as conducted in rural areas, were replaced on April 1 by a program of rural rehabilitation. The objective of the rural program is to make it possible for destitute persons, eligible for relief in such areas, to sustain themselves through their own efforts. The program for stranded populations is a plan for restoring independence to destitute rural residents through furnishing opportunity to them to produce their own food at home while earning enough cash in part-time employment to provide their other essential needs.

These new programs are just getting under way. In many re-

spects they are necessarily experimental. They give promise of developing a more scientific method of handling relief than we have had in the past. I shall not attempt to discuss them in detail, for this or any other program cannot succeed unless a real philosophy is developed and broad national plans are laid, into which detailed programs will logically fit.

The F.E.R.A. has developed a sound and adequate Statistical and Research Department. This department has the facts available upon which to base, not only an emergency program, but upon which to do some long-time planning.

What is the situation at the end of the first year of the F.E.R.A.?

1. In April the all-time peak of families on relief was reached—over four million six hundred thousand families. In March, a year ago, it was estimated that there were four and a half million families.
2. During the past year a billion dollars was spent on civil works and probably eight hundred millions on work relief and straight relief, if we include federal, state, and local appropriations—a total of one billion eight hundred million.
3. At the time of this writing [May 1, 1934], the F.E.R.A. has about three hundred fifty million dollars available to meet future relief needs. [The balance of the recent nine-hundred-fifty-million-dollar appropriation was used to carry C.W.A. and relief up to May 1.] It is estimated that eight hundred fifty millions more must be appropriated by the federal government for the ensuing twelve months, or one hundred millions per month. [This amount was requested of Congress, but on May 15 had not been granted.] If the states and their local subdivisions continue their present rate of appropriations, from twenty-five to thirty millions more per month will be made available through these sources. With states and local subdivisions finding it increasingly difficult to supply additional funds, it is doubtful if we can expect from them as much money during the ensuing twelve months as the last twelve months. In other words, there appears to be less money in prospect for the next twelve months than was expended during the last twelve months, including civil-works expenditure, which definitely must be taken into consideration.
4. Relief loads have been steadily climbing during March and April.
5. The amount allowed per family per month, while it shows an increase over one year ago, is still below any reasonable standard of relief.
6. There is confusion and uncertainty in administrative procedure that is seriously interfering with giving adequate relief to the unemployed.

What are the prospects at the present time of public works and industry absorbing enough of the unemployed nationally to

reduce the numbers on relief? Public works is now employing about five hundred thousand persons. I hazard the guess that this will not be increased more than two hundred fifty to three hundred thousand during the summer months. Industry may be expected to absorb additional workers. Suppose we estimate that with conditions improving, one and a half million more workers will be employed by industry during the summer months than are now employed. Certainly this does not present a hopeful picture for the immediate future. Our relief load will continue to be high for months to come regardless of the extent of business recovery.

The apparent disorganization and confusion in the administration of relief probably arises largely from the shifting of millions from civil works to work relief and straight relief. Part of the confusion, however, it seems to me, can be charged to faulty organization. We can predict with reasonable assurance that the new threefold program of the F.E.R.A. can be made to work. The question I wish to raise is: Will that program take care of the situation as we know it to be? If not, how can it be made to do so? The first suggestion I have to make is that the temporary nature of our relief set-up give way to a permanent relief organization, nation wide in extent with state and local counterparts; second, that we face frankly as a nation the inadequacy of the funds available and the probability that states and local communities will supply less and less of the needed funds during the next twelve months; and, third, that a program be prepared for the Congress which meets in 1935 that will look toward more permanent and more comprehensive results. This program must include phases of social welfare other than unemployment relief. It must not overlook the aged, the sick, the dependent mothers, the children, and those in need of relief from other than unemployment causes.

VII. TOWARD A PLANNED SOCIETY IN THE WELFARE FIELD

One lesson we should have learned from our experience with the F.E.R.A. is that no system of relief, however soundly con-

ceived or ably administered, can be successful in coping with the by-products of unemployment, and that no system of relief can take the place of work opportunities.

During the depression we have seen the morale of workers shattered, their health undermined, and their homes disrupted. We have seen them change from self-respecting, independent citizens into self-confessed unemployables, dependent upon relief for their continued existence. This is what the depression with its relief methods has done to the American workingman.

No society can long exist that does not furnish to men and women an opportunity to make their own way in life. Scientific progress must and should go on, but social progress, in utilizing the advantages of scientific advancement, must not be permitted to lag far behind. Machinery has lifted from the backs of labor much of physical strain, but unfortunately it has, at the same time, loaded them down with the mental strain of insecurity and possible future privation.

Technological advancement, instead of being accompanied by the tragic human waste of unemployment, should be matched by new social machinery for the retraining and replacement in other jobs the men thrown out of their former lines of employment.

Our future economic set-up must provide work opportunity for all at such rate of compensation as will insure to each a reasonable and increasing standard of living. This opportunity should be made possible under our industrial, social, and political organization by whatever governmental regulations may be necessary, and only to the extent absolutely demanded should such regulation be imposed.

In this fifth year of the depression we are becoming increasingly conscious that we are not only in a period of emergency, but have entered a new social era in which social planning and the marshaling of all of the forces of society will be necessary to meet the tremendous problems which inevitably must be faced in the years to come. Economic conditions may reasonably be expected to improve, but major maladjustments in our econom-

ic life will continue for years. The fundamental human need for a guaranteed economic security will grow increasingly imperative. In order to meet this need we have to see clearly that our national life demands intelligent ordering, conscious planning, and social control. Individualism and laissez faire cannot continue to dominate our social philosophy. The planning and successful control of our complex modern social order are things that will continue to challenge the wisdom and integrity of successive generations.

No group should labor under the delusion that it has the wisdom or ability to plan or enforce all the needed adjustments. We must content ourselves with developing an intelligent interest in the problems of society and in gaining the best attainable perspective so that we may concentrate on planning and developing that limited sector of the social life with which we are immediately concerned, and for which we may have some special and professional competences.

Our special competence as social workers clearly dictates the concentration of our attention and effort upon those phases of social planning that are immediately related to the great human quest for added security. Only certain phases of this social planning—that is, those dealing with relief—here concern us. We are, from this standpoint, primarily interested in the whole field of social insurance, including accident insurance or workmen's compensation, old-age insurance or pensions, sickness or health insurance, and unemployment insurance or reserves, also in preventive measures in all these fields.

There are those among us, and others closely related to us professionally, who are experts in these fields. Since these devices of an ordered society are calculated to provide an increasing measure of security for large numbers who, at the present time, must depend entirely on haphazard relief, and since they represent effective social organization for meeting the great common needs of mankind, social workers should take a special interest in them and promote them to the best of their ability.

There is time only to mention other selected elements of social

planning, such as a developed and comprehensive system of public employment exchanges, and proper vocational guidance, training, and rehabilitation. We must develop both national and local machinery for these ends.

But though all these measures may help to make relief in large amounts less necessary, there, nevertheless, always will be some need for relief—distasteful, inadequate, and unfortunate as it may be. This is something for which social planning is needed—desperately needed.

We should plan, for the very near future, an entirely different and modernized system of relief for this country. It should begin with the federal government in a carefully organized federal department of welfare, which could wisely plan, skilfully direct, and intelligently co-ordinate the diverse features necessarily demanded of any socially valuable national welfare program.

There will be a permanent need for the federal government to remain in the relief field, both in planning and in financing. In fact, it would scarcely be possible to develop and control a satisfactory permanent national relief program except through federal participation in support and in direction.

The federal department of welfare should operate through an efficient system of state welfare departments, which in turn should work through county departments of welfare set up on an entirely new basis, eliminating the present scattered local welfare and relief activities, including the emergency relief set-up in effect at the present time, and replacing all of these with a unified, intelligent, and efficient relief and welfare program.

This is an ambitious undertaking and social workers may well concentrate upon it in the years immediately ahead. The key to securing unified action on the part of the states and counties lies in the leadership of the federal government. One of the great lessons of the F.E.R.A. is the value of leadership and unified national action residing in the federal government.

Relief is more than a local question and never can be solved satisfactorily except by national action. Some states and some counties within states have always been too poor and too lack-

ing in leadership to solve their own problems. Every social worker knows how unfortunate and backward areas add to the social problems of the cities, and how adversely they affect our entire national life.

These reasons all point to the necessity for a federal department of welfare, with federal appropriations large enough to make adequate aid possible for the states on some kind of a matching basis and always on condition that the states shall establish required social and political machinery and personnel standards, and shall maintain acceptable welfare and relief practices.

With the establishment of such social and political organization, a new era in the history of social work would become possible, and there would be a real hope of effectively meeting the demands which the coming years shall assuredly make upon us.

Since the original paper was written, the changing scene has shifted once again. On May 15 the President recommended to Congress the appropriation of \$1,322,000,000 "under fairly broad powers" delegated to the President. Of this amount, \$940,000,000, it appears, is intended for the F.E.R.A., principally for work relief to replace the civil-works program. The President indicated that his recommendation was designed to round out his budget for the next fiscal year, but that the appropriation he proposed might carry through only into the early part of the calendar year 1935.

"If, at that time," he said, "conditions have not improved as we now hope, the next Congress will be in session and will have full opportunity to act." The new works program will delegate more responsibility to the states, cities, and counties, with the federal government having a say as to how, and for what, the money is to be expended.

Without further discussion of the details of the program, let us stop for a moment to consider the immediate future. Should we estimate less than four and a half million families as our relief load for some months ahead? At an average of \$30 per fami-

ly per month, this would require an appropriation of \$135,000,000 per month for relief.

In estimating an average of \$30 per month per family, I have placed the estimate beyond any relief program we have yet undertaken. Can an average of \$30 per month per family, after four years of privation, furnish sufficient relief to provide any degree of safety to the individuals or to society? We are still thinking of relief in terms of a few months' emergency. The time has come for us to plan in terms of a reasonably adequate standard of relief for the unemployed and not on the basis of making an appropriation last over a stated period of time. With all its faults, the C.W.A. was sound in these particulars. It recognized the need of larger amounts being made available to unemployed families, and the principle that work must be supplied to the unemployed instead of a dole, if their morale was not to be permanently shattered.

I am pleading for a different approach to the whole problem of relief until industry actually absorbs the unemployed. "No one will be permitted to starve" is no longer an ethically sound or a socially safe program of relief.

RELIEF AND RECONSTRUCTION

*Rexford G. Tugwell, Undersecretary of
Agriculture, Washington, D.C.*

IN THE course of the last century a Russian priest invented a variant of the Christian religion which spread like wild-fire until the police suppressed it; but its baleful influence hung over the Tsarist court right up to the end of the Russian monarchy. This novel creed asserted that since repentance is one of the great Christian virtues, the most practical way of indulging that virtue was to sin in order that your might repent.

I am sometimes of the opinion that much of what is regarded as social service work in the United States labors under a remotely similar influence; that it is predicated upon charity, and that, inasmuch as charity is admittedly one of the chief great human virtues, there has been too little inclination on the part of social workers to eliminate the need for charity rather than minister to it. Certainly, so far as concerns the general community which supplies the funds administered by social service work, this has frequently been true, and there are great sections of unconscious but extremely potent public opinion which would be unwilling to see the things done which would be necessary for the institution of a social system in which the need for private and public charity were eliminated. The impulse which has, year after year and generation after generation, persuaded the people of this country to contribute millions of dollars for the support of charitable enterprises is, I suppose, one of the most generous of which our natures are capable. But the existence of kindness in the world in no way absolves one from the deeper responsibilities. Social workers must in some measure devote themselves to constructive thought as to how we can best prevent the American people from needing their services, except in rare and accidental cases.

I say this with the full consciousness that many of the relief

measures of the present administration have been directed to precisely the sort of thing which a stable society would avoid. That is to say, except in so far as they have kept people alive who would otherwise be dead, have held together families which would otherwise have been broken up, and have maintained order and hope instead of chaos and despair—except in so far as our relief measures have accomplished these emergency purposes, they have hardly touched the real problem at all. This is not the fault of the devoted corps of workers, nor, I think, the fault of any of the rest of us. We have had, all of us, to accept conditions as they were and to do first things first. Relief needs are always pressing after a disaster; and reconstruction has to come later. But as time passes, reconstruction has to be thought of; and no one is so well qualified to think of it as those who have seen the disaster at first hand. What I would plead with social service workers to do, therefore, as they go about their daily business of succoring the needy, is to devote thought, at least, to the larger problems of rehabilitation.

SHORTSIGHTEDNESS OF OLD SOCIAL POLICY

What we have been able to do so far, in the way of substituting rehabilitation for charity, has not been much. I know, from many conversations with workers, how they have reacted against this program. It is as though they found a starving man in ragged clothes on a park bench, took him to a restaurant and gave him a two-dollar dinner, then outfitted him from top to toe in new clothes, including a cane and a high silk hat, and said: "There! because this man is now dressed as he would dress if he were well off, therefore he is well off." Public opinion, up to now, has prevented social workers from going very much beyond this state in dealing with the fundamental economic and sociological problems set us by the breakdown of the old order. Here and there a little permanent rehabilitation into the social system has been introduced, but, on the whole, our social service work is still a handout on the giving end and an insufficient dole on the receiving end.

This was inevitable in a society which conducted its affairs on a *laissez faire* basis. We allowed ourselves to be projected into an era of mass production and large-scale management without giving serious thought to the changed relationship of the individual to the system. It was assumed that it was the business of each of us to provide for his future and that of those for whom we had a responsibility. No consideration was given to the new conditions being set for living which made this an impossible task for millions of workers. New machines and processes were introduced to take the place of workers, and a policy was adopted in industry of managing prices by varying the rates of production of goods. These two, between them, left workers periodically helpless to carry out their old responsibilities.

The adoption of new machines and processes need not necessarily throw men permanently out of work. But it will do so unless other steps are taken to see that some of the gains made in this way are diverted to the workers. Those steps have not been taken; and, in any case, there was always temporary dislocation while the displaced workers were finding the new jobs made possible by the increase in social income which efficiency brought. For this dislocation no provision was made either. And the total result of our increased efficiency, therefore, was to throw most of its costs upon one group and to secure most of its gains for another.

If Americans had seen this process clearly for what it was, their sense of sportsmanship, if nothing else, would have intervened. But these processes take place, in a *laissez faire* system, so casually, and with so little thought of the relation of one thing to another, that before we realized it we had a growing group of displaced workers without jobs and without the hope of any. Even in boom times this had become a formidable problem; and when depression came the personal disaster involved was almost overwhelming. For then, also, the full results of the other policy I have mentioned made themselves felt. As the demand for goods failed and prices fell, the situation was met by stopping production. People wanted just as many goods; there

were just as many factories and just as many workers to make them. But the fact that each business unit had a responsibility to stockholders rather than to workers or consumers dictated the way in which the crisis was met. For all this I would not have you think that I impute blame to anyone. Nothing is farther from my purpose. But I would have you consider whether in view of what happened great changes are not necessary in the system which makes us behave in these ways.

You know, as well as I do, that the disaster was not confined to industry as we usually describe it. It extended to rural America also. With that problem I have been in closer touch than with any other these past years; and I know that the suffering which has been imposed on farmers and their families, in spite of all you could do in the way of relief, is something which no really civilized society would permit to happen twice. The same forces were at work here in somewhat different ways. And even here more remote causes reached down into every farm home, bringing the blight of poverty. Foreign markets failed; efficiency increased and made the work of thousands of farmers on poor lands unnecessary; machinery replaced horses and mules and threw more acres into what we call the "submarginal" category. No one farmer, and no group of them, was able to gauge the effect of these imponderable forces upon his own small operations. He only knew that his prices fell, that he could not buy the things necessary to support life. He felt a natural resentment since he had worked harder than ever to meet the crisis and had done all the things we have always considered to be right. But the disaster came; and its coming again cannot be prevented by just tiding him over for a while. Rural life needs reconstruction along with industrial life.

This is the problem which is set for all of us. We are not too well equipped to meet it. Social workers labor under special handicaps. The private charitable agencies which have been operating for years have failed to impress the dominant influences in our towns and cities with the need for skill, experience, and wisdom in dealing with the social problems of the com-

munity. And they have failed to realize, perhaps because their interests lie elsewhere, that it is better to prevent disaster than to relieve it. As a result, when the breakdown of economic arrangements compelled the assumption of relief as a public responsibility too great for private charity, the appointed leaders of local relief were too often handicapped by a limited view of the work they were supposed to do.

One time, on a visit to a certain island in the West Indies, I was told of a curious belief that the voodoo doctors knew of certain drugs so powerful and so unique that they gave the appearance of death. The victim, properly dosed, was then buried by the sorrowing family, after which the witch doctors came at night, opened the grave, and restored the supposed dead man to animation. These living dead men were called "zombies," and they lived lives of complete apathy and complete docility. The higher brain cells apparently no longer functioned, and they were to all intents automatons, who did as they were told, asked no questions, and told no lies. In that way the voodoo men got a supply of cheap and docile zombie slaves. Whatever the truth of this traveler's tale, there is a lesson for us in it. Use your imaginations for a moment and see whether American workmen under the old order were not expected really to behave like zombies. When new machines forced them out of jobs, they were expected to applaud the spirit of progress, and find other jobs—if they could. When the selfishness and shortsightedness of the old order led our industrial machine into periodic depression—into those surprisingly regular outbreaks of "bad luck"—the millions out of work were expected to resign themselves to industrial "bad luck," to hope meekly for the best—and to live on whatever charity was offered them. And if by the millions they huddled through the winter nights in flophouses, on park benches, in pitiful shacks pieced together from discarded tin cans; if whole families crowded together in one room in poorly ventilated, unlighted, unheated, and insanitary tenements; if farm families (a million and a half of them between 1921 and 1933) were forced off their land to whatever

haven they could stumble into—if all this has taken place in America, as all of us know it has, what is it but economic regimentation of the most tragic sort? These millions have been expected to live like Haitian zombies—to ask no questions, to take what is given them, and to be thankful. It is desirable, therefore, to examine carefully the false beliefs which stand between us and effective social action.

FALSE BELIEFS PREVENTING EFFECTIVE SOCIAL ACTION

One of these beliefs is that if we take care of the immediate emergency the future will take care of itself. Feed the hungry and succor the distressed, it is said, but by no means commit the un-American crime of facing the causes of our distress. Do not admit that, so far as can be seen, we shall have an acute relief problem for years to come. Just pretend that it will all be over in six months or at the most a year, and devote all available time and energy to the “here” and the “now” and trust that something will turn up—a war, a boom, a new invention, or something—to prevent us from the necessity of taking thought for the morrow.

This is the first fallacy and it suggests the second—the assumption that if the wheels of commerce and industry, as now organized, can be set going full tilt, all our worries will be over. Without questioning the obvious necessity of restoring the going processes of industry to supply man’s material needs and to employ human productive energy, it is possible to question whether that is not merely one of the important objectives for which we must work. We now know that there are millions of workers, formerly employed by industry, who cannot be reabsorbed by our present industrial system, assuming it to remain unchanged, even if the volume of physical production is brought back to the levels of the turbulent twenties. In 1932, I am told, industry could produce as much as in 1923, with one-third less labor. And this development has by no means stopped. We know also that the same situation faces many farmers on lands which are inefficient. The formula for fundamental social service is some-

what more complex than is suggested by the shibboleths which still dominate the social thinking of too many of us.

We shall have to be pioneers if we are to rise above this vicious circle. Courage and fortitude, as well as intelligence and experience, are essential to the new civilization which may be ahead of us, if we have the perseverance and the wit to conquer the ideas which now thwart us. These moral qualities prevailed when our wilderness was conquered, but then always there was great hope. "Oh, Susanna, don't you cry for me!" was the marching song of a generation of Americans who set out to conquer the West. Americans want no pity, no one crying for them. They want opportunity to use their energies and their talents. There has been recently a great recovery in national morale, thanks to the leader who has never lost his courage and faith, and who has always seen our problems in true perspective, even when others gave themselves to blind fatalism or panicky confusion. The new hope which has found its way into the hearts of our citizens must find substantiation in a real program of reconstruction.

In the present confusion of thought there are two doctrines of despair which must be combated. I have suggested one of these—the apparent belief that what is known as "business recovery" is the one panacea. The influential people of many communities see things in that light and have asked that the jobless, like zombies, should hope for it. Yet all the while industry is making technological improvements at an undiminished rate. I find little evidence that the advocates of "business recovery" are weighing the consequences of technology; if they have any realization of what may happen, I have not heard of it. Furthermore, among those who are obsessed with the speciously simple "recovery" formula—attractive because it appears to avoid the necessity both for thought and for action—there seems scant recognition of the human deterioration which has been going on with increasing speed among the unemployed. With the fatal consequences to the bodies and souls of people which revolt from a prolonged social and economic catas-

trophe, the mere salvaging of the producing and distributing process may have little meaning for a dangerously large number of our people. And this proportion is so considerable as to threaten the social decomposition of our entire civilization.

SOCIAL RECOVERY POLICIES

My second major observation relates to what may be called "social recovery," broadly represented in the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and its state and county units. In many instances local administrations—good, bad, or indifferent—have followed on the heels of previous confusion or even chaos, combined sometimes with maladministration and socially destructive influences. Subsequently it appeared that the obstacles to a program of "social recovery" by the relief units—outside of their own shortcomings—were sins of omission and commission which had to be rectified if progress was to be made.

Sins of commission can be charged against the community on three counts. One is a hangover from old attitudes toward social service which denied the need of skill, experience, and ability. The second is subversive political influence which may blight the quality of relief personnel and subordinate stable policies to partisan advantage. The third is the demoralization which arises from the first two factors and which not only prevents the creation of competent organizations but produces a feeling of insecurity and fear where courage, continuity, and confidence are needed.

The sin of omission lies particularly in the lack of comprehensive thinking. This is due largely to the attitude which prevails in many communities. Both city and county governments have one eye and one ear turned toward the local taxpayer and the other eye and ear toward business interests. The sanctity of property rights is interpreted as the sacred right of the individual to private advantage over others if he can get it. Thus all the dominant influences of the community combine in the sin of omitting measures to promote well-being in reconstruction.

It seems very plain to me that there has been an over emphasis on business recovery and on pure relief—necessary as both are. It is, however, the prevailing idea of many people in all communities that nothing else matters very much. This is not universal, for every community has its quota of workers for a new deal, but these are scattered and are too often obsessed with some sort of thirty-day panacea for solving everything without the necessity of thought. The problems—both physical and psychological—which we face are too formidable to be met by any panacea. Survival of our present civilization does not depend on advantage in any particular kind of industrial operation. Its reconstruction, however, cannot be achieved without the goods which we are equipped to produce and habituated to employ. Immediate and extensive social engineering required by a great period of transition must be supplied locally as well as nationally.

In spite of all the difficulties its workers have labored under, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration stands out in my mind as the foremost of all the recovery agencies. Through it the administration of President Roosevelt has been able to make good its belief that no American ought to starve; through it the administration has been able to liquidate some of the worst results of neglect throughout the hard years of depression; through it most of us hope to see the beginning of a program which will insure once for all the security of American lives and homes. It has done much more than it was strictly charged with doing. It has not been afraid of unconventional procedures; it has not stopped to ask whether what had to be done met anyone's preconceived ideas about how it ought to be done. It has been the right hand of the President in the rescue work of disaster.

The Civil Works Administration represented something new in relief work; it gave jobs and income to fathers of families by the million who had not had either for years; and it carried out works of reconstruction which changed the country physically as it had never before been changed in a like time. The Surplus

Relief Corporation helped us in the Department of Agriculture to solve the paradox of want in the midst of plenty. It made doubly certain that our program of crop reduction should not take place in a land where anyone went hungry. Among the unconventional things which were done, not least in its ultimate effect on the American spirit, I think, was the rescue of artists and the dignification of their work. The country is richer for what was done in this way, just as it is richer for what was done to make the countryside and the cities more beautiful. For the impulse which was not afraid to risk philistine criticism in a good cause we all of us ought to be thankful.

All these, and many other lesser acts of social kindness, stand to the credit of the Relief Administration; but most of all it has served as notice to all that government belongs to the people and that when they are in need it is government's duty to come to the rescue. Furthermore, it has shown that there is at the disposal of government energy, intelligence, and imagination, vast resources of each, ready to be used when the need arises. In my opinion social service workers have rescued our nation from the dishonor of inaction in time of need. The trend of my appeal is for further efforts—efforts of a new and even less conventional sort.

I would see them enlisted as soldiers not in a new cause but in an old one. I would ask loyalty not to a new faith but to an old one which for a while has been lost to sight. This administration is struggling to return to a lost democracy; it is trying to do it through a discipline of groups which oppress the individual. We stand face to face, today, with a clear choice and all of us have to take sides. Either we are to have a closed system or an open one. Either we are to give people access to income which they have earned as a right or we are to give them pittance as charity. Either we are to permit industry to manage its affairs so that workers and farmers suffer continual small disadvantages and periodic great ones or we are going to see to it that industry is so managed as to provide continuous employ-

ment for all and to distribute purchasing power which will enable the public to buy its goods.

NEED OF REORIENTATION OF SOCIAL WORK

The opportunities for a reorientation of social work will be numerous in the years to come. Their nature is foreshadowed by the demands which already have appeared. The move for the decentralization of industry and the establishment of new communities linking agriculture with industry will require the most delicate judgment concerning the practicability of proposals and great tact in organizing local initiative. Rural rehabilitation is part of the social-work program for the current year. If ways can be found to transform the hopelessness of stranded populations on submarginal lands into hope for the success of newly conceived ventures, and do it for any considerable number of families, my idea will have been demonstrated. Hitherto we have had to be content to bring these people an uncertain support for what they know to be a hopeless economic effort. If social workers can furnish practical ideas and persuade them into actual being, they will have substituted reconstruction for relief.

This is a peculiarly satisfactory kind of effort. There is something physical to show for it when it is done. And if meanwhile some readjustments in the economic system can take place which will establish the freedom and the security of these communities, we shall all have reason for pride. No more is needed for this than to establish a fair exchange among our various producing groups so that each can exchange its products with others on such a basis as will do no injustice to any one of them. This would provide for continuity of operations, for then none would be unable to purchase the products of others. That, as well as the physical rehabilitation of communities, is something to work for.

The Agricultural Adjustment Administration has been criticized for its policy of limitation. Its reductions have not been carried beyond what would be needed for a liberal use of agri-

cultural goods in this country. But if it had, this criticism would come with poor grace from the industrial leaders who taught it to the farmers. Industry meets every critical situation by reducing production; it freely limits the supplies of goods to protect prices. Industrial production during the depression fell off sometimes to a half, in some instances a third, or even more, of predepression volume. Farmers actually increased theirs. And now that they have taken a small leaf out of the industrial copy-book and followed the maxim there written down, there are howls fit to wake the ghosts of our forefathers. Limitation is necessary for industry; for farmers, they say, it is un-American.

We who are working for the farmer might be willing to make a bargain with industry to stop limitation if industrialists will do it too. Of course they will not do it. It is right, in a way, that neither farmers nor industrialists should do so. I say "in a way," because if we are to have order in industry and agriculture, too, there will have to be arrangements made so that only those things which are wanted are produced. This may, on occasion, involve limitation; but it is even more likely to involve expansion. A different kind of mechanism is needed for expansion, however, and one which seems not to have so great an appeal to immediate self-interest. It really would have, of course, if we had succeeded in bringing the interests of all into concord with the interests of each, for then we should have that fair exchange of which I have spoken. But all this is something to be worked out over considerable time. It is, I believe, inherent in the future operations of N.R.A. just as it is in A.A.A. This means that flexible mechanisms have already been brought into existence through which justice is available to all when we are ready for it.

It will not be possible to gain the time necessary for agriculture and industry to work out a program for continuity and equal exchange unless those who are suffering from past maladjustments are cared for. And it will not be possible to work out such a program at all unless it is understood and interpreted

by social workers and unless they are willing to join in working for it actively.

PROBLEM A TREMENDOUS ONE

Our problem is a tremendous one, and I do not think that it is even acknowledged to exist at all in many responsible circles in our economic life. I shall put it in one of its worst aspects as bluntly as I know how. What I refer to is the problem of those who have come of age economically since the sins of their fathers were visited upon them in the form of the present depression.

Every year about two million four hundred thousand Americans reach the age of eighteen and thereby become available for the purposes of our economic system, whatever these purposes may be and whatever form that economic system may take. To make room for these, nearly two and a half-million young able-bodied Americans, one and a half-million people in this country reach the age of forty-five, the age at which our economic system begins to tighten its qualifications for workers.

As to the fate of the men and women over forty-five, you have one problem of relief—the care of old age—and this is serious enough. But what about the extra nine hundred thousand youngsters for whom no places have been provided by the resignation or obsolescence of their elders?

Since 1928 nearly five million more Americans have come of working age than have passed out of industry from age or disability. I am informed that the distinct tendency has been to re-employ those who were employed in 1929 and who lost their jobs during the depression. This is fortunate for these men but it has concentrated unemployment among those who are over eighteen and under thirty.

That this is true is suggested by the figures of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, which is now caring for over three and a half-million persons between the ages of sixteen and thirty-four. There are, it is true, some three hundred thousand in the C.C.C. camps who are satisfactorily situated. But in spite of this the conditon is still serious, since this cares for only a small percentage. Evidently we are faced with the alternatives

of making rapid readjustments in our social and economic system which will enlarge its capacity to absorb the young or of risking the consequences of idleness among millions of them. We have no problem more serious than this, and the social service workers of America must help us solve it, without political violence, social demoralization, or economic chaos. This is not an issue which can be deferred until some theorist can work out a neat solution. It is terribly urgent. Men live by more than bread alone. They demand jobs; that is to say, not only reasonable security in receiving their bread, but the sense of being useful to, and of being used by, society. We cannot indefinitely stave off this demand for food and work. But we have done too little to prepare the public mind for the necessity of meeting this demand.

MUST MOVE INTO NEW SOCIAL CONCEPTIONS

In this lies the greatest opportunity which has ever faced a single professional group of Americans. The Agricultural Adjustment Act and the N.R.A. are available, as examples of how the community, working democratically through a multitude of face-to-face discussions and practical adjustments, has moved forward into new economic areas. Social workers, whose job it is to make people's lives easier, must help the community move forward into new social conceptions. The old era of passing around the hat and waiting for the upturn is as dead as the one-horse plow and the hansom cab. We are now working within a new framework. The method to be used is one of overhead planning with the initiative and the force coming to the centers of co-ordination from all over the country. Little can be done in Washington unless a great deal of the initiative and all of the action comes from social service workers. Ample opportunity has been given, especially through the decentralization of the relief organization. Over against this everyone is aware of the strain of attempting to do in a hurry what should have been done forty years ago: to establish security against the various risks of society, especially illness, old age, and unemployment.

We have had to improvise institutions which have been maturing in other countries for the last two generations. It will be necessary to reinforce some efforts with legislation and to obviate many problems by appropriate industrial and agricultural controls, and to transform a volunteer army into a corps of seasoned fighters against misery, with ample supplies and strong reinforcements.

This transformation will mean that some of the romance of social service will be lost along with some of the inefficiency which is associated with improvisation. We must get rid of the oversimplified notion that face-to-face relationships with those who are insultingly described as the "deserving poor" are sufficient without any sense of the general situation which produces poverty, whether deserved or undeserved. We must modify the old idea of a personal salvation and case work, in which it is said to be sufficient to adjust the individual to a society which itself needs to be changed and is changing. The task is not only to help the individual but also to assist in attacking the causes of his distress.

In fact, it has always seemed to me arrogant to assume that we have any right or power to change people at all. People are pretty much the same, with respect to their basic wants, urges, and passions, as they were five thousand years ago. What changes is our institutions. Men establish ways and means by which they satisfy these wants, needs, urges, and passions. These institutions take many shapes and forms and constitute the organized milieu of society. When we talk of social change, we talk of changing these institutions, not the men who use them. When we speak of the need for social change, we mean that these institutions are failing, that they do not provide effective instrumentalities by which the urges, wants, and desires of people are satisfied.

ESSENCE OF THE NEW DEAL

The essence of the New Deal is that it recognizes and gives expression to the people whose wants are going unsatisfied, be-

cause of the failure of the industrial and political institutions which they have established in the hope of satisfying those wants. Historically, political leadership does little more than guide people whose institutions fail, when the people press against these failures in their attempt to recapture arrangements which formerly satisfied their basic needs.

In other words, the New Deal is attempting to do nothing to people, and does not seek at all to alter their way of life, their wants and desires. It finds them hungry, in need of clothing, shelter, being denied the good things everywhere existing around them in abundance. The obvious situation is that these people call for a redirecting of the management of the institutions and organizations through which they feel they should be able to obtain a portion of these good things that they see lying around everywhere. Therefore, what is demanded of us in America today is the making-over of the institutions controlled by, and operated for the benefit of, the few, so that regardless of their control they shall be operated for the benefit of the many. In all this there is no thought or need to change the individual so that he may conform to some pattern or be fitted to some industrial scheme about to be created. The reverse is true: that the industrial scheme shall be made over to fit the individual and supply his wants. What the old order describes as "rugged individualism" meant the regimentation of the many for the benefit of the few. The social mission of the New Deal has a somewhat higher standard of individualism—it believes in freeing the many from the regimentation of the few.

There, it seems to me, is the angle of attack for the social service workers of this country—to sublimate the moral force of personal charity into a sense of social responsibility and to abandon thought of any exclusive personal mission to be or to do good.

The chief aim of social work under the great governmental program now under way ought always to be concentrated on helping people to help themselves—to take advantage, for the reconstruction of American life, of those springs of individual

initiative which are so native to the American culture. Citizens must be made to feel themselves a part of a great civil movement which has as its object the creation of a better America for themselves and for their successors.

The most you can do for people is to discipline the institutions and forces which are inimical to the individual and so to provide freedom for action. You cannot forever go on providing subsistence for the idle at government expense. This will never be more than subsistence, and it will eventually kill the thing we are trying to foster. Social workers may say this is not their task, that they are merely parts of a machine for the rescue of the civilian wounded. This is too narrow a conception of their task and their duty. They will never be through with it if this is their only effort. They must understand what is afoot of a reconstructive sort, and must bring their patients out of their care and into the free world again.

A free man on his feet, presented with opportunity to work for himself and those for whom he is responsible, will rise to the occasion well enough. If men had not always done that we should not be here today. The industrial system has been turned into an autocracy which was well on the way to killing this impulse in men. It must be shown that this cannot be tolerated. This is where our duty lies: the rescue of men from oppression. If we can do this our present rescue work will become unnecessary. This is the goal of social workers.

The challenge is an open one to our society. The opportunity is great. The time is now.

TAXATION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL WORK

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WE HAVE had three Democratic presidents since the Civil War. The first abruptly rejected a proposal by Congress to appropriate a few thousand dollars for the purchase of seed corn for Texas farmers, left destitute by a disastrous crop failure of the preceding year. The third went before Congress a few months ago with a calm proposal for the appropriation of some twelve billions of dollars for the relief of cotton farmers, wheat farmers, hog farmers, and very nearly all other classes of people in distress throughout the United States. In the interim between the two, much water has flowed over the dam; whole nations have gone over the dam, and much political philosophy with them. Unfortunately, much common sense has apparently gone over the dam likewise.

But out of the somewhat muddled results one thing, for purposes of our present problem, stands out clearly—that is, that provision for relief of large masses of our population, suffering from factors of maladjustment and instability beyond their control, has now been recognized as a definite and presumably permanent “function” of government. The assumption of this new function—“new,” at least, in its scope and magnitude—is imposing upon various governmental bodies an unprecedented amount of debt and of present and future taxation. In consequence the whole problem of taxation in this country has now become one of the most acute problems that we are going to confront in coming years, and one that ramifies in one way or another throughout most of our other economic and social problems. The implications of taxation for the broad field of social work constitutes the particular problem of this paper.

Needless to say, any problem which embraces the whole field of taxation, at one end, and the whole field of social work, at the other, is a large order, and I shall only attempt to suggest a few of the more obvious implications about which we can be reasonably definite.

I. THE AMOUNT OF SOCIAL WORK THAT WE CAN AFFORD

The first has to do with the amount of social work that we can afford. Most of the large fields of social work represent comparatively new types of governmental activity. Compared with previous standards of social responsibility, most of them may unquestionably be classified as governmental luxuries. It is natural, therefore, that the question should frequently be raised whether there are not definite limits to the amount of social work which communities, the states, and the nation can afford, and whether we have not already reached, or passed, these limits. To that question economic facts afford a reasonably positive answer, namely, that whatever questions there may be about the wisdom, practicability, or effectiveness of particular forms of social work, there is thus far no question about the adequacy of our resources to carry on whatever amount of social work it may be deemed wise and helpful to have.

And I am not speaking here of resources in any vague, theoretical sense—in the sense merely of great natural resources of forests, minerals, and productive capacity—but I am speaking of resources in the same way that a banker figures resources—resources that can be converted into terms of dollars and cents. A nation that produced \$38,350,000,000 of new net wealth in 1932, at the bottom of perhaps the severest depression in our national history, according to the estimates of the National Bureau of Economic Records—and this is new production during the year, without drawing upon any of our accumulated wealth of something more than two hundred billions—a nation which in the same year paid out \$2,600,000,000 in dividends, \$5,500,000,000 in interest, \$1,700,000,000 in rents and royalties, and \$7,200,000,000 in pure profits; a nation that even in 1933

was still buying 1,493,000 new passenger cars and 1,139,000 new radios—a nation whose income and expenditures run into these figures right at the bottom of depression may be suffering from many maladjustments of one kind and another, but is obviously not suffering from any actual poverty of economic and financial resources.

And, furthermore, when I quoted the national income above at \$38,350,000,000, this was in terms of the 1932 price level; converted into 1929 price levels, it was equivalent to a net income of \$56,400,000,000, and would compare with a national net income for that year of \$83,000,000,000. So that our net annual production at the bottom of the severest depression in our history was, after all, only $32\frac{1}{2}$ per cent less than our net product at the peak of the greatest industrial boom in our history, and this in both cases without drawing at all upon our accumulated billions of the past. Now a decline of $32\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in the physical volume of business and production is sufficient to precipitate the most acute problem of credit and finance, problems of financial solving, business readjustment, unemployment, all the familiar problems of depression, which none of us now will make the mistake of minimizing. But the very point I am making now is that these are problems of credit, finance, of business and price readjustments; they are not problems of poverty. A nation could live forever (with proper distribution and adjustments) on an annual income 32 per cent less than that of the United States in 1929, and could be prosperous and happy and great without that extra 32 per cent to spend for expensive cars, fancy cigarettes, night clubs and roadhouses, and other similar channels, into which a good part of that 32 per cent went in the bizarre decade ending in 1930. A nation that enjoys this amount of income and purchasing power, even at the bottom of depression, is also in the fortunate position in which the amount of prophylactic social activity which it can afford is not limited by any poverty of resources.

There are limitations upon our capacity for governmental action; constitutional limitations upon the forms of governmental

action; arbitrary limitations upon the forms of taxation and the distribution of tax burdens; limitations of tradition, politics, and of conflicting business interests; a whole jumble of cluttering and confusing limitations upon the exercise of ordinary judgment in matters of governmental policy and particularly in matters of taxation. Indeed, many of the constitutional provisions in the form of uniformity clauses and other arbitrary limitations were imposed specifically in order to limit the exercise of our common sense in these problems. Secretary Ickes was absolutely right, therefore, in holding, as he did in the case of Indiana, that self-imposed constitutional limitations upon the forms and amount of taxation afford a state no alibi for failure to meet the requirements for federal aid. I should be inclined to observe that the home state of John Dillinger needs considerable revision of its tax, as well as its other legal procedure, were it not for the fact that we find the same type of uniformity clauses and other constitutional limitations in the home states of Al Capone, Harold Ickes, Secretary Wallace, and other well-known characters; so that most of us are still in no position to throw stones at John Dillinger, so far as his ideas of taxation were concerned.

I trust, therefore, that those engaged in the various fields of social amelioration and social prophylactics will not allow themselves to be confused by the specious generalizations about the amount of such work that we can afford. There are very pressing and difficult problems that have to do with the wisdom, the desirability, and the effectiveness of particular forms of social work. There are limits to the amount of social work that individual communities, particularly small and distressed communities, can afford. Some of them can afford none—some of them are entirely in need of relief. But this only raises the question of proper jurisdiction for the performance of this function, which I shall refer to later. There are limitations upon our ability to develop the necessary organization and machinery for effective and economical administration of these fields of work. There are limitations upon our ability to find and train competent per-

sonnel for carrying on the work, and there are other limitations that I need not enumerate. The one barrier which we have not yet reached or approached is that of any limitation upon our financial and economic resources for carrying on whatever amount of social amelioration and social prophylactics may be deemed wise.

II. DIVISION OF COST BETWEEN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SOURCES

If our conclusion above is sound, it has some bearing on the question constantly being raised with regard to the proper division of responsibility for the support of social work between public and private agencies. It will at least guard us against some fallacious premises in formulating a judgment on that question.

In our research work at the university we have frequently been approached by foundations and social agencies with regard to the possibility of making some kind of factual or scientific study to determine the proper proportion in which the responsibility and cost of various forms of relief and social work should be distributed between public and private sources. I must confess that we have never been able to develop any formula for any precise apportionment of these responsibilities. It is the same question that confronts all of the social functions of government. What part of the education of 125,000,000 people should be provided by government, and what part left to private agency? What part of the prophylactics of public health should be provided by government, and which part can be adequately secured through private agency? And so on through all the distinctly social functions of government. There is no formula and no fixed premise. Indeed, we never do determine the *amount* of any of these services that government should provide. We determine from time to time the *direction* in which we wish to move, and that is sufficient. We can read the speedometer and figure up the mileage after we get there.

At the present moment, the urgency of the need, the obvious inadequacy of private resources, and the growing sense of social

responsibility all seem to imply the assumption by the government of a larger proportion of the responsibilities of social work; and that is undoubtedly the direction of actual movement.

How far shall we continue to move in this direction? To that question those of us who are working in the field of taxation can offer only a modest and homely contribution, namely, that the determination of that question rests on considerations of the relative availability and effectiveness of public and private agencies, and it should be decided on the basis of such considerations. We are not as yet confronted with the necessity of setting any arbitrary limit to the discharge of this public responsibility on account of any inadequateness of the resources for carrying on whatever proportion of these activities may be deemed wise and helpful in themselves.

III. JURISDICTIONAL PROBLEMS

1. *Trend toward broader scope of federal activities.*—As the government undertakes a larger scope of social work, the problems of jurisdictional responsibility become more urgent. Here it happens that in taxation and most large fields of governmental activity we are being compelled by the forces of economic evolution to adopt broader concepts of jurisdiction. Relationships formerly considered purely local are now recognized as state and national; and I take it that in the fields of social work our concepts of administrative units and of jurisdictional responsibilities are going through the same evolution.

The mere scope and magnitude of economic movements compel us to take a broader view of these things. Whole industries are constantly moving in huge caravans from one section of the country to another. The movement of the textile industries from New England to the South has brought prosperity to newly developed manufacturing centers in the South; but it has greatly aggravated the problems of relief and social work in distressed communities in New England. Should the burden of such relief rest entirely on the cities and communities impoverished by the movement, with no responsibility on the region

benefited? The distress of the farm population for a decade past was produced largely by violent disparities between the prices of farm products, on the one hand, and urban, on the other. The result was literally to shift billions of dollars of wealth, income, and property values from country to city and to create acute distress throughout large agricultural regions. Should the burden of relief and other social responsibilities incident to these conditions rest entirely on the communities impoverished, rather than on those benefited, by the movement of forces over which neither had any control?

It is considerations such as these that compel us to take a broader view of public responsibility for relief and social work. And so long as this view is embodied in deliberate and orderly expansion of administrative units and jurisdictional responsibility, I know of nothing in the field of taxation that would offer any obstacle.

2. *Harmful results of hasty and wholesale transfer of costs to federal government.*—But those of us working in the field of taxation must express grave concern over some of the consequences of the hasty and wholesale transfer of the costs of relief to the federal government that has been going on during the past year or more. I say this for three reasons:

a) In the first place, such wholesale and haphazard assumption of financial burdens by the federal government has resulted in the absence of any rational or equitable distribution of the costs of relief. I know of no reason, for instance, why federal contributions should make up 99.4 per cent of all public unemployment-relief funds in Arkansas, in 1933, or 99.7 per cent in South Carolina.

b) In the second place, federal relief funds have too frequently served as a convenient alibi for corrupt and incompetent state and municipal governments—a subterfuge through which political organizations have been relieved of accountability for the results of their misgovernment, and indifferent citizens and taxpayers have been spared a vast amount of necessary and wholesome house-cleaning. I shall mention no names; but, com-

ing as I do from Illinois, it will be understood that I suffer from no dearth of illustrations. At the present moment our Board of Education is trying to hypothecate school-board property to the federal government in order to sell a bond issue to the federal government. Our Sanitary District, after years of fantastic waste and extravagance, and after obstinate refusal to carry out the decree of the United States Supreme Court, is now proposing to "sell" the sewage canal to the federal government. The proposed price—around ninety-million dollars—seems rather high for that type of property. I am inclined to think we could afford to sell our state legislature to the federal government for less than that amount, and still not impair our assets. But we need not multiply illustrations. The point I am making is that the wholesale assumption of financial burdens by the federal government, under the guise or the necessity of emergency relief, has done a vast amount of harm through pulling chestnuts out of the fire for corrupt and incompetent state and local governments, thereby relieving these governments of accountability for the results of misgovernment and relieving citizens of what otherwise would be a wholesome incentive to some political house-cleaning. In this way this benevolent policy of killing the fatted calf for returning prodigals is only going to have the effect of encouraging these prodigals to go out on still more extravagant spending sprees; and there are going to be a lot of prodigals turning their homeward steps to Washington again and again. If we continue the indulgent policy of killing the fatted calf every time one of these prodigals rambles in at the back gate, it is going to be mighty hard on the herd for the next few years.

c) In the third place, those of us in the field of taxation feel that the cause of constructive tax reforms has been definitely retarded by this wholesale assumption of financial responsibilities by the federal government. Many an antiquated, inequitable system of taxation in state and municipal governments had been spared the inevitable process of reform by the ready formula of transferring its load to the federal government. And these broken-down vehicles, which states and municipalities would

have been obliged to send to the junk pile if they had had to carry their own loads, will now continue to clutter the road of progress and aggravate the liabilities of their various governments for years to come.

In all these ways students of taxation feel that the wholesale and haphazard assumption of such an enormous proportion of the costs of relief and social work by the federal government has resulted in an inequitable distribution of these costs among the taxpayers of the nation, has largely relieved corrupt and incompetent state and municipal governments of accountability to their own citizens, and has definitely retarded the progress of tax reform.

IV. IMPLICATIONS AS TO METHODS OF FINANCING RELIEF AND SOCIAL WORK

But in our analysis of the implications of taxation with regard to the amount of social work that we can afford, the division of costs between public and private agencies, and some unfortunate aspects of the huge responsibility assumed by the federal government, we have only created for ourselves a still more difficult problem. This is the problem of providing revenue for financing the liberal amount of relief and social work, which I have said the nation can afford. We could have made this part of our problem easier by arguing that there is a sharp limit to the amount of social work we can afford, by arguing that private contributions should carry a larger portion of the cost, and that of the public cost a larger share should be carried by the federal government. Unfortunately for my own survival, I have done just the opposite: I have argued that we are as yet not limited by any poverty of economic or financial resources; that the greater part of the costs should be assumed by public agencies; but that too liberal assumption by the federal government of responsibilities that could have been carried by state and municipal governments has produced harmful results.

I have consequently made our problem of revenue about as difficult as I could, when it was sufficiently difficult already, and

I hasten to say that I have no ready-made formula to offer; there is no magic that will make our tax problems of the next decade easy. But there are three or four simple propositions which a sound conception of the tax problem will suggest.

1. *Anomaly of present forms of taxation for purposes of relief.*—The first is the utter anomalousness of most of our present forms of state and local taxation for purposes of relief.

a) *The general property tax.*—Seventy-five to eighty per cent of our state and local taxes are still derived from the general property tax, a tax system that is bad enough even under prosperous conditions. In periods of deflation and depression on the part of taxpayers and of enlarged relief expenditures on the part of government, it becomes an ironical form of taxation, a rigid exaction that is levied year in and year out, regardless of the income or productiveness of the property and regardless of the business situation, financial status, or taxpaying ability of the owner. Farms that have been operated at a loss for years, buildings that yield nothing but annual deficits, homes whose owners have not had a job for three years, are subjected year after year to practically the same exactions that were levied on them through periods of speculative expansion and extravagant public expenditure.

Moreover, the property tax is extremely regressive even under normal conditions—that is, it levies heavier proportionate burdens upon small incomes than large. In a study made under the prosperous conditions of 1928, we found that property taxes absorbed $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the entire net income of classes with incomes of less than \$2,000. The property tax was equivalent, in other words, to a gross income tax of $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent upon the smallest incomes, the burden decreasing as we moved up the scale of income, until on the largest incomes it amounted to a tax of only $1\frac{3}{4}$ per cent of the net income. In periods of depression and unemployment the property tax becomes still more violently regressive and inverted.

The consequence is that in any period of prolonged depression we have a volume of tax delinquency that is appalling; a delin-

quency of \$300,000,000 in Chicago, something over \$200,000,000 in New York—a delinquency that is building up a new public domain out of lands that are reverting to the government for taxes, that has forced something more than two thousand municipalities and local governments into insolvency and has crippled the finances and impaired the credit of municipal governments throughout the country.

Furthermore, the same delinquency has forced a vast amount of distressed property upon deflated markets, thereby greatly aggravating the forces of deflation and prolonging the depression itself. So that the rigid property tax becomes one of the worst types of taxation conceivable in periods of deflation and depression. And when in the face of all these difficulties inherent in property taxation, we nevertheless turn around and fall again upon the property tax as a means of providing funds for relief in a depression, that is about the last degree of irony conceivable in tax policy. To tax deflated farms for relief of deflated farmers, or to tax unemployed home-owners for the relief of unemployment, seems to imply a degree of intellectual bankruptcy more acute than our economic insolvency.

b) The sales tax.—The most frequent recourse, on the part of states suffering from deficits under the property tax and unable to provide necessary relief funds, has been the sales tax. When this takes the form of a general sales tax on all commodities, it would seem again that a worse alternative could hardly have been found. As an emergency measure, when it becomes necessary to provide revenue regardless of principles or results, it may be conceded that the sales tax serves a useful purpose. But as a revenue measure for providing funds for relief, it has some peculiarly ironical elements. If it is relief not from flood, fire, or natural catastrophe, but from economic depression, as in our present case, the sales tax imposes one more obstacle in the way of business recovery, at a time when the utmost leeway ought to be allowed to business enterprise. If it is intended for the relief of the poorer classes, certainly the major portion of the burden of the tax itself falls upon the poorest classes. To hand out

funds to millions of people for the purchase of the bare necessities of life and then turn around and levy a 2 or 3 per cent tax on these purchases is like taxing the relief basket to provide funds for purchasing another relief basket. If we could only levy a tax on legislative stupidity and taxpayers' shortsightedness, a tax graduated according to the degree of the stupidity of the one and the shortsightedness of the other, we could supply relief baskets for everybody!

2. *Support of vicious tax legislation by social workers under pressure of emergency need.*—So much for our present forms of taxation for relief. My second comment is that it seems to me that much harm has been done through the support of hasty, unwise, and vicious tax legislation by the representative of social work, under the pressure of emergency needs. I realize that it behooves us to speak with moderation and without dogmatism here; for the needs have been acute, legislative processes are exasperatingly slow, and we cannot in times like these stand on mere academic distinctions or dogmatic theories. But, nevertheless, the facts are that, under the guise of emergency needs, many a constructive reform movement that has been developed and fostered by years of systematic and intelligent effort has been easily thrust aside, postponed, and perhaps permanently defeated by political organizations and business groups who have taken shrewd advantage of the emergency to grind their own axes. This was to be expected, and we were prepared for it. What we were not prepared for was the extent to which the heads of relief organizations and representatives of various fields of social work flocked to state capitals and gave their active and influential support to jumbled, partisan, or vicious legislation. If it were a matter either of immediate relief or of acute suffering for thousands of people—or if it were a choice of poor legislation or none—perhaps we should raise no question. Certainly the amount of suffering which would have been involved in the absence of relief is something which social workers were in a position to judge better than anyone else, but the question as to whether it was a choice of vicious legislation or none, and as to

whether other alternatives were possible and practicable, if legislatures and voters had been compelled to face them squarely, is one in which there is much room for difference of opinion. And it is a field in which a more accurate knowledge of tax problems and of the economic and political alignments that have been formed about these problems would frequently have led to very different conclusions from the ones that seemed most obvious at the time. In Chicago I have seen one citizens' committee after another succumb to the formula that some desirable legislation was "politically" impossible, when I knew that it was only the systematic cultivation of this belief in the minds of business and civic leaders that made it "politically" impossible. I have seen almost the whole constructive program of one citizens' committee abandoned outright on representations of a committee sent to Springfield that "politically" it would be utterly impossible, although when the legislature met subsequently and this part of the program was withdrawn, this identical program was taken up spontaneously by the legislature itself and pressed so vigorously that, according to the consensus of opinion around the capital at the time, it was only the pressure of the governor and the administration that prevented its adoption. It was the governor and speaker of the House who had previously represented to the citizens' committee that it would be "politically" impossible to secure consideration of the proposed legislation.

The mere pressure of depression and emergency made many things politically possible which might not have been possible before—if the groups interested in constructive legislation had seen to it that the pressure was focused persistently toward that end rather than dissipated and frittered away in the process of grinding axes for various special interests. I should like to go into some of the specific problems here, but shall mention only a few of the obvious lines of effort; such as the necessity for repealing the old uniformity clauses and the rigid restrictions upon the forms of revenue available to the legislature; the abolition or correction of our vicious system of personal-property taxes; the reorganization of tax and assessment administration with a view

to reasonably honest and competent administration in this field; at least some steps in the direction of honest and business-like budgetary practice; and some movement in the direction of putting a part of the burden of state and local government upon income rather than entirely on property and business.

In contrast with these simple constructive steps in the way of providing increased revenue and of improving our financial systems at the same time, what do we have? The statute-books of most of the forty-eight states, plastered over with page after page, reams and reams, of emergency-tax legislation—with mill taxes on property, license taxes, special corporation taxes, public utility taxes, poll taxes, “filing” fees, liquor taxes, gas taxes, “diversion” statutes, tax-receivership statutes, fantastic delinquent-tax legislation, sales taxes, gross-income taxation, etc. Some of this legislation is wise and some unwise; but most of it has been adopted without any relation to existing taxes, without relation to the development of any comprehensive or rational system of taxation, without any consideration even of the economic effects of these taxes themselves. Yet most of this legislation has served as a convenient stop-gap to postpone or avoid the necessity of facing the fundamental problems involved. And the result is that our statute-books are going to be cluttered up with a mass of haphazard, half-baked indiscriminate tax legislation that it may take twenty years to get rid of. Most of our tax systems were bad enough before the depression; they are going to be worse after the recovery.

Of all the taxes that I have referred to, the sales tax has had a particularly ulterior history. I refer, of course, to the general sales tax, not to specific sales taxes, such as the gasoline tax, which rest on special considerations in each case. I am speaking of the general sales tax on all commodities, such as we have in Illinois, Mississippi, and other backward states. Imported from Europe, where poverty of resources afforded some justification for it, it has been backed in this country by highly organized groups, who since 1921 have employed the sales tax as a weapon against the development of state income taxes, and have brought

powerful pressure to secure its adoption by the federal government in the hope of eventually replacing or greatly minimizing the federal income tax.

These groups have taken shrewd advantages of the depression and the need for emergency revenue to press for the hasty adoption of sales taxes, at first as temporary measures, later to be prolonged indefinitely. And in this strategy they have capitalized liberally upon the aid and support of the heads of relief organizations, and the leaders in various fields of social work. As a purely emergency measure, tax students concede that it may serve a useful purpose—if it could be limited to the duration of the emergency. The trouble is that tax legislation never is limited to the emergency, and the current sales-tax legislation is not intended to be temporary.

If it becomes a permanent part of our state tax system, it will only add another antiquated element to our already antiquated tax systems. On the basis of every sound principle of distribution of tax burdens it is a vicious policy. It represents a return to the salt taxes and watch taxes of medieval Europe, and is only another example of the strange trend to medievalism which is characteristic of much of the popular philosophy of the day.

3. *Proper methods of financing relief and social work.*—Now having criticized many of our present forms of taxation and having condemned much of the new tax legislation for emergency relief, we face the question: What do sound principles of taxation imply with regard to proper methods of financing relief and social work? In answer to this question it may be said that while these principles provide no magic device and no ready-made formula, they do imply certain broad lines of policy, which we can put forward with considerable assurance.

a) *Through government borrowing.*—In the first place, all emergency relief and all social work specifically associated with periods of depression ought not to be financed out of taxation of any kind but out of public credit, by all governmental bodies in position to utilize their own credit. It is true that in the present depression many municipalities and some states had already

exhausted their credit resources and were not in a position to borrow. As a matter of fact, most of the governments in this position had exhausted their tax resources likewise, so that they were in as bad a shape one way as the other. But most states and municipalities that had halfway honest and competent governments have been able to maintain their credit. The very favorable terms upon which state and municipal obligations have been marketed for months past is ample evidence of the standing of their credit.

For those governments, therefore, which are in position to exercise any choice in methods of financing, I am pointing out that this is no field for taxation at all but for deliberate recourse to public borrowing. Taxes represent either business costs or overhead charges in carrying property. Any increase in taxes in time of depression increases the costs of industry and accelerates the deflation of property values, thereby aggravating the very conditions we are trying to remedy and increasing the need for relief. Even the funds distributed by government in the process of relief add little or nothing to the purchasing power of the community because, when raised from taxes, they must ordinarily displace a corresponding amount of purchasing power in the hands of the taxpayers. Economically it is taking purchasing power from one to give to another, which may be justified by the necessities of the case, but certainly not by any contribution it is going to make to economic recovery.

Borrowing at low rates of interest certainly does not displace any urgently needed or any highly active purchasing power, but to a large extent draws on idle or relatively idle funds and puts them into active purchasing channels. In this way expenditure financed by borrowing not only does not decrease but actually increases the active purchasing power of the community. The fact that this increase is only "temporary" is entirely beside the point, because it is a temporary situation we are dealing with, and the more temporary both the condition and the remedy in this case, the better off we shall be.

Likewise the fact that such loans must eventually be repaid

out of taxes is equally beside the point. In times of declining property values and business deficits, when loss of property, insolvency, and bankruptcy are threatened on all sides, taxes have in thousands of cases meant the difference between surviving or going to the wall; and money in the hands of taxpayers has a value out of all relation to any ordinary interest rates. There are at this minute home-owners facing dispossession, property-holders fighting to hold on through the last stages of depression, businesses running deficits but keeping their heads above water with the shore in sight just ahead of them. To these taxpayers money is worth 10, 15, 20, and 25 per cent during the term of their various individual emergencies. Taxation scoops off a stratum of resources indiscriminately, displacing some 5 per cent capital, some 10, and some 15 and 20 per cent capital; and the government makes up its fund out of very costly resources to the community. On the other hand, borrowing at low rates of interest is a device for drawing specifically upon low-gear capital, for drawing only upon resources that are idle or are at least earning only low returns for owners, and the government derives its funds from the least costly capital resources of the community. When the debt is repaid five or ten years later, under normal industrial conditions, the taxpayer can then pay the necessary taxes, with the trifling addition of interest in the meantime, infinitely easier than he could have paid the original taxes under conditions of deflation and depression.

Indeed, if governments were organized to operate on the basis of sound business principles—which as yet they are not—the wisest of all tax policies would be to suspend taxes entirely during periods of acute depression, expand the volume of public borrowing to carry all expenses, and resume taxation again when business and industry have been restored to normal conditions. We are not yet in a position to avail ourselves of such sound business practice with regard to the general expenses of government; but it would seem that we are in a position to apply this principle at least to emergency-relief expenditures and to expenditures for the support of those types of social work that

are specifically associated with recurring industrial depression.

b) Through income, inheritance, luxury, and "surplus" taxes.—The second broad line of policy which sound principles of taxation would suggest is that to whatever extent relief and emergency costs are financed through taxation, this should take the form of incomes, inheritance, and luxury taxes or some form of taxation that represents a surplus of income and resources above the necessities of life. And this does not rest on any impulse to "soak the rich" or other radical philosophy. It rests on the most obvious and common-sense principles in the distribution of the tax burdens.

When we levy taxes for the support of free hospital service, we ordinarily take pains to levy them on people outside of the hospital; when we levy taxes for the maintenance of prisoners in jail, we aim to levy them on those who, for the time being at least, are still able to keep out of jail. And I take it to be a matter of equally elementary common sense that when we levy taxes for the relief of the unemployed, we should at least levy them on those who for the time being are employed in some kind of a job with some kind of income. It is sounder tax policy to levy taxes on the employed for the benefit of the unemployed than to try to tax the unemployed for their own benefit. When we levy taxes for the relief of the homeless, we aim to levy them on those who are able to maintain some kind of home for themselves. And when we levy taxes for the relief of all the various classes whose incomes have temporarily disappeared, it would seem to be equally obvious that we should levy these taxes on those who have incomes rather than those who have none. No matter what we say about methods of providing for other forms of governmental expenditures, this type of expenditure is pre-eminently one which should be financed solely through the taxation of those who are fortunate enough to continue in the enjoyment of net income.

This does not necessarily mean a specific income tax; the same object may conceivably be attained through inheritance taxa-

tion, luxury taxes, and other taxes that rest upon surplus incomes in some form. But the inheritance tax is not one that can be readily adapted from time to time, and luxury taxes are difficult to formulate and define. So that of all the forms of taxation the income tax is the simplest, most logical, most common-sense type of tax for special governmental expenditures incident to depression conditions.

The fact that incomes fall off during a depression has nothing to do with it. If incomes should entirely disappear, and we, as a nation, should have to start living on accumulated capital in one form or another, we should then have to resort to capital taxes likewise; but it is utterly anomalous to be levying destructive capital and business taxes, while there are large numbers among us in receipt of liberal incomes. It is only the political influence of those who have income and the shortsightedness of those who have not that has brought about the meager development of income taxation for the support of state and municipal governments.

And when I speak of income taxation, I do not mean a flat income tax on some specific types of income or a tax that reaches a maximum of 5 or 6 per cent, or an income tax full of property-tax offsets and other exemptions, or an income tax of any form that serves merely as a meager supplement to the general-property tax and business taxes. I mean an income tax that will levy a substantial portion of the tax burden on income rather than on property and business. I know of no reason, practical or otherwise, why even in normal times we should not levy fully as large a proportion of state and local taxes on incomes as on property; and in periods of depression the grounds for taxing income rather than business and property become still more compelling.

Of course we cannot go this far all at once. Political necessities have to be recognized and practical situations dealt with; and any state that moved too rapidly in this direction would expose itself to unfavorable competition from its less progressive neighbors. But I am speaking now of the type of taxation which would represent both a scientific and a common-sense method

for financing emergency relief and social work, and which represents, therefore, an objective for which to work.

We cannot go into detailed consideration of arguments pro and con, but there is one specious argument against the development of state income taxation to which I shall call attention. This is the argument that the extent to which the federal government has exploited the field of income taxation has largely deprived the states of this source of revenue.

In order to determine to what extent this may be true, we have made a somewhat intensive study of the possibility of state income taxes, in the course of which we have set up the rates, exemptions, and other provisions of a hypothetical state income tax which would yield sufficient revenue to replace one-half of all the property taxes levied in the forty-eight states of the Union. Without going into technical details, the significant thing is that the federal income tax of 1932 (the recent revision of the federal income tax had not been completed at the time of our study) plus our hypothetical income tax in the forty-eight states sufficient to replace half of the property taxes in these states—all combined would have taken approximately 15 per cent of the total income reported to the United States Internal Revenue Department in any normal predepression year such as 1925, 1926, and 1927. And 15 per cent of the income reported to the Internal Revenue Department would not be more than 6 or 7 per cent of the total estimated income of the country. Now it would seem almost self-evident that a tax equivalent of 6 or 7 per cent of the total national income would rest more easily when cushioned on the income structure of the nation than when resting rigidly in the form of property taxes upon property and business. And I am asking the leaders of the various fields of social work to throw their influence and support to the development of rational types of taxation, which will not only provide more adequate support for relief and social work, but will distribute its costs more equitably, with less distress to taxpayers and less repressive effects on business and industrial recovery.

SOCIAL PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE¹

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I AM going to project, as I see it, the kinds of things public welfare departments in the states and in the counties, all over America, will be doing during the next twenty years. Welfare departments—public welfare departments—have existed in America for a great many years. They have done a wide variety of things. They have administered hospitals; they have administered child-caring institutions; they have administered jails; they have administered outdoor relief; in some cases they have administered public health work, widows' pensions, old-age pensions, depending upon the particular state and the particular state laws that govern public welfare work in the various communities.

These are some of the things that they are doing. I want to talk first a bit about those things that are going to be identified with pensions—if you wish to call that relief, you may—regularized income that comes to people who need a certain type of benefit. I want to talk a bit about public health and medical care for the sick, unemployment benefits in terms of insurance and a work program, and the problem of security for the American family.

I think I should say in the beginning that I believe these welfare departments will be providing indefinitely what we know as outdoor relief. I cannot envisage any plan, or any scheme, or any legislation, which will eliminate the need for outdoor relief. I may be wrong about that, but I personally cannot envisage a plan which will eliminate the necessity for relief on an individualized family basis for a great many people.

¹ This paper was given at the annual dinner meeting of the American Public Welfare Association.

Therefore, in all these welfare departments there will be a section whose business it is to take care of people in emergencies, to give them outdoor relief.

But there are very large groups, common to all cities and to all counties in America, whose benefits should come to them in regular and orderly fashion.

First, there are the old people. During the next twenty years, if these old people are going to get a benefit, it is going to be in terms of old age pensions, to which they will be entitled and which they will get every month as long as they live. This problem, which in 1928 and 1929 was not particularly serious in terms of numbers, has now grown to very large proportions due to the depression. We find literally tens of thousands of old people who had funds, had money, had relatives, who had children who would have taken care of them in their old age, but whose resources have been completely wiped out, on our relief rolls. The number of persons over sixty-five who are on the relief roll is very close to five hundred thousand. It seems to me an obvious thing that the intelligent way to handle this problem is not to go on making investigations of these people over and over again to determine their need, but to determine once and for all that they are entitled to a pension and to see that they get it. If that pension can be given in their own home, in their own environment, so much the better. These old-age pensions, in my opinion, will be administered by these public welfare departments throughout America. I believe they will be financed through tax funds of the states, probably with federal participation.

Second, of course, are widows' pensions, the techniques of which have been developed through the last twenty years and concerning which great progress has been made. Lately, through the cutting of public budgets, right and left, county officials have tended to unload them onto the relief rolls and a great many of these women no longer get this benefit as a pension. They get it now only as relief. I know something of the objections to widows' pensions and the difficulties connected with

them, but on the whole I think the scheme, fixed arbitrarily, of pensions for a widow who is in need is essential to anything that resembles social security.

Along with that group would go the totally unemployable. We know perfectly well that we have on the relief rolls today literally thousands of families that have no possible opportunity of ever finding gainful employment in industry. They cannot possibly support themselves again. We might as well make up our minds that those families must be cared for. I can see no rhyme or reason in doing it on the kind of a relief basis we have been using over a long period of time. I, too, would put the totally unemployable in a classification of persons who should get a regular benefit or pension. There may be others who are going to get a benefit out of the tax fund in regular monthly fashion.

Are these benefits to be given to all people who arrive at the age of sixty-five or seventy? Are they going to be given to all widows irrespective of need? Well, I do not think so. If I read the signs of the times rightly, and the temper of the American people, in terms of what is to be done with the sum total of our national income, I believe that these benefits for the care of the people I have described are going to be put on a basis of need; that that need will be determined by the public welfare departments of the counties. I am not talking now about insurance for old age. I am talking about benefits that are to be given to old people. I think it is unnecessary for me to try to estimate the size of that problem—the aged, the widows, the handicapped—and what it will cost.

I expect that the whole field of emergency relief, plus these regularized benefits, will be managed by divisions inside the departments of public welfare.

I want now to discuss the second major point—public health. It is my opinion that the distinction between preventive medicine or what we have always known as public health and the treatment of sickness are fictitious differences and have no meaning. The care of a pregnant mother, the providing of medical care at birth—is that public health work or is that treat-

ment? I personally believe that there is no distinction between the two. They are different techniques, carried on by different people with different trainings and backgrounds, but I foresee a responsibility for the public health problem for which the state, through the departments of public welfare, is going to have a primary responsibility.

It seems to me that while we have made enormous strides in public health, *per se* in preventive medicine, that we have yet literally miles to go. Why, think of such simple things as the control of malaria, about which science has had complete information. The C.W.A. in five short months cleared nine hundred thousand square miles of swamp land, which every public health man in America has known for years to be a menace to the public health and yet nothing was done about it. So, we can see in this one example the possibilities ahead of us. I could name problem after problem which has been grossly and shamefully neglected in this whole field.

The protection of the health of the people, it matters not whether it be from typhoid, diphtheria, malaria, plagues of all kinds, is public health work and it is the responsibility of the state. It is not an individual responsibility and it cannot be accepted as such. I think, in the main, throughout America that view has been accepted, especially throughout the South where it has resulted in the development of health units. But concerning the treatment of disease and the cost of medical care, we have said, "That is a private matter that concerns each one of us separately." It does not take a very smart mathematician to know that there is no such thing as the average cost of medical care. There may be an average cost of rent and clothing and food and family budget—you people may be able to budget that—but you cannot average the cost of medical care because the full cost of medical care falls upon those that are sick and upon nobody else.

If you cannot average it, you, therefore, cannot save for it. It is an uneconomic thing for everybody to try to save for it individually, that is, to save to an amount that would pay for

the full cost of the most serious illness you might have. It is amazing that we have been able to insure a great many other things that, it seems to me, are much more complicated than insurance of the cost of illness. And yet there is tremendous excitement if anybody suggests an insurance premium which will insure the cost of caring for illness, hospital care, nursing care, and medical treatment if we get sick. It seems to me as clear as daylight that if we are going to get adequate medical care in America for the great mass of the population, it can be done only through a scheme of compulsory health insurance.

In that plan one or two things are essential. First, the security of the economic income of the physicians. You know a physician does not make any money, in spite of what some of us may think and some of the stories we may hear about these big fees. A physician as a physician does not make any money. His is probably as underpaid a profession as we have in America. He wants security just as much as we do, and it would be essential under any scheme of compulsory health insurance that he get that security. Second, physicians must be assured of protection of their professional integrity.

I believe those two things can be done. I believe that they have been done in other countries. I know something about England's scheme of health insurance. I know that the campaign of misinformation which has gone on in this country, saying that the doctors of England do not believe in compulsory health insurance and would do away with it, is a lot of nonsense. The overwhelming number of doctors in England would not think of doing away with compulsory health insurance.

If I read the signs of the times rightly at all, the great mass of physicians in this country would, in my opinion, welcome a scheme of compulsory health insurance which would maintain, on the one hand, economic security, and, on the other hand, protect their professional integrity.

I suppose there is no one single thing, except the depression itself, that causes as much poverty and misery as sickness. I remember that in the old days when I was a visitor, the major

problem of the poverty of almost all of the families that I saw was illness. The workers of America have always had the terrible fear of illness; that some member of the family would become seriously ill, that competent medical care could not be afforded, or that they would be burdened by debt for the rest of their lives. Among all my friends, I do not know of one single thing they fear more than the fear of the expense of illness that will take what little savings they have and leave them dependent.

It is an insurable risk. It cannot be done in a private fashion, in my opinion, nor can it be done in a voluntary fashion, although I fully appreciate the steps and efforts that have been made in many communities toward voluntary health insurance of one kind or another. I think it should be done on a broad scale throughout the country by compulsory health insurance.

Unemployment is my third major point. We had two or three millions of unemployed, I believe, in 1929. Of all the smug complacency there ever was about anything, it was worse with regard to this problem, although in 1928 and 1929 they were just kicked around. There are a lot of people who say, "Oh, yes, there are a lot of people unemployed, but we had two or three millions unemployed in 1928 and 1929!" Well we are never going to treat the unemployed that are left after this depression the way those fellows were treated. Never again should unemployment, involuntary unemployment of able-bodied men, be treated as a mere relief problem.

The problem must be handled through two, or maybe more, policies. I have often said, of course, that I believe in unemployment insurance, and I do. I am not sure that I believe in unemployment-insurance funds that carry cash benefits over long periods of time. I have a feeling that we have to have an American plan for unemployment insurance just as we have an American plan for health insurance. I cannot visualize the American people over long periods of time having sympathy with a scheme by which unemployment benefits come exclusively by getting your card punched, and then going to the win-

dow and getting eight, or nine, or ten dollars a week. I simply do not believe that in the kind of a country we have that the people or the unemployed themselves would tolerate a scheme which is confined exclusively to a cash benefit, which is paid weekly upon evidence that you are looking for a job.

My first point, then, under unemployment is that I believe in unemployment insurance. I would be inclined to favor a scheme that would give a substantial cash benefit for approximately eight to sixteen weeks, but not more. If we are going to get anywhere with this unemployment problem administratively, we have to have a scheme of labor exchanges second to none. There has been more progress made in the development of labor exchanges in the last six or eight months in the United States than there has been in the whole progress of our history. I think the job which Frances Perkins has done in reorganizing labor exchanges and employment bureaus in America is a magnificent one, and that it is moving ahead. We have put some relief funds into it. Some people have criticized us for doing so. There is no money which we have better spent, in my opinion, than the backing we have given to the administration of labor-exchanges under Miss Perkins. This must obviously be continued and extended. The offices will not necessarily have to be in every county in America, but on a realistic basis they should be in those places where necessary, competently manned by technical people, and I think be administered locally by this general department for which I am hunting another name.

But, even if you give an unemployment benefit in terms of cash for eight to sixteen weeks, the man may not be able to go back to work at the end of that eight to sixteen weeks. It does not work out that way, as well you know. So I would have as a supplement a program of public work moving up and down, depending upon the number of people that are unemployed.

What would you have them doing? I would have them doing those things of a public nature which are socially useful, which are important to the nation, which are outside the ordinary scope of our economic system. I would not have us competing

by public works with private industry. I do not believe in that. But I think that there are many, many opportunities to keep hundreds of thousands of men—yes, millions of men—at work in this country for years to come on great enterprises that are necessary to the American people. I shall enumerate some of them: The whole development of our national forests, of our national parks, of our great playground system; the whole program that is identified with soil erosion, control of water in America, the building of houses for people of very low income. I can visualize all these things being done—public buildings, public roads, highways, things that we need, that are ours, that belong to us, and that we must have. So I can visualize the unemployed, when their cash benefit is ended, getting an opportunity to work on a public project, again for a limited amount of time—I should think somewhere between six months and a year. And inasmuch as these things must have some terminal facilities, I believe that at the end of that time, if that person has not been reabsorbed into industry (unless it be in times of great economic crisis such as we have now), those men must give way in these jobs and must be cared for from then on through emergency-relief funds.

If in normal times two or three million men are out of work—and I hope when we get back to what we call normal times again it will not be as large a number as that, though it may be larger in number than that—I, for one, am unwilling to assume that unemployment, involuntary unemployment, should be handled on a relief basis. Why in the world should I, if I get out of work, have to walk up to you and fill out an application blank and say, "Please, can't I have some relief?" Then you have to go and investigate me at home and find out if I am in need or not. We have got to begin now formulating a plan of dealing with this problem which gives these people dignified benefits, on the one hand, and opportunities to work on projects that America needs, on the other. I do not present this as a plan to prevent unemployment. I have no panaceas for that. I am going to leave that to others. But I maintain that if we

have any brains at all, we shall have a plan which will handle this problem in a dignified way in the future.

My final point concerns the intelligent use of the land in America.

I can visualize in this country hundreds of thousands of people finding happiness, comfort, security in living on a small piece of land with decent houses, adequate school facilities, adequate recreational facilities, earning part of their income either in decentralized private industry or in planned public works. I do not believe that the whole public works problem should be used as a means merely of meeting the unemployment problem. It is going to be used as a means for meeting the problem of living for thousands of people who have some income.

If that opportunity is not found in industry, and I believe tens of thousands of the group of families now under our care will not find that opportunity, then the one most effective means of giving them security is an intelligent use of the land. The control of crops by no means solves the farm problem. It is a temporary device. Opportunities for people to earn a livelihood out of the land are surely coming in the future of America, and that does not mean a living on the land in the way literally hundreds of thousands of farm families live today. The slums of New York, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Cleveland are nothing compared with the rural slums of America. It is outrageous and shameful that these fine people should be expected to live under such conditions. There is no rhyme or reason why a great housing program in America should not give to those people the kind of houses they are entitled to have. Why should not these people have electricity and bathrooms in their houses? Why should we say, "It is good enough for them to live the way they are; they have lived that way all their lives; let them keep on living the way they are." It is ridiculous! You talk to these farm families face to face and they do not talk to you like that. They want these things as much as you do. Why not give it to them? Surely the national income is great enough to give to those farm families, of whom we had

more than six hundred thousand on the relief rolls, a decent break. I should utilize the land for what it is intended—for people to live a wholesome life.

Now you say the reason they will not live there is because they want to move to the cities. Why do they want to go to the cities? Because the movies are in the cities, music is in the cities, theaters are in the cities, good schools are in the cities. Should we not have good schools in the country? Why should we not have movies in the country? Probably you cannot make money out of them. You do not have to do everything for money. There are other motivations in the world besides money. Why does the Philharmonic Orchestra have to be in New York City? Twenty thousand different people have to hear the Philharmonic Orchestra. You mean that people in small towns in the country do not like to hear good music or do not enjoy the theater? Why, it is ridiculous! You should see the way they pack in these unemployed concerts. Now with the great troupes of actors going around there are literally thousands of people crowding to the doors to see the actors and artists. There is no reason in the world why society should not be organized, and I believe it can be organized, so that these great recreational or educational services can be given to the people in the smaller communities or rural areas of America.

What does this mean? Why do we worry about this thing? Well, for a very simple reason, it seems to me. Mr. Hodson has called it "national security"; it might be called "individual security"—the abolition of the fear of poverty which we have talked about for years in this country, and about which, incidentally, we have done very, very little. This suggestion does not indicate a reorganization of industry to prevent these things from happening. Nobody is wise enough to say that if industry or our modern economic system is reorganized these things will not happen. Our position is that these great social problems are here. Everyone in America knows it. People get ill and are uncared for. A father dies, leaving a widow and five children with no means of support. People are handicapped; people get

sick and cannot maintain themselves and have to go to relief. The blighting fear that goes with illness fills hundreds of thousands of homes. And then we have seen in our lifetime something we never expected to see—literally millions of marching men, marching to employment exchanges, to factories, trying to find work and not finding it, and finally being cared for under our relief organization, and all the tragedies that have gone with that. Finally, we have seen the land of America despoiled by people ruining our great forests and taking our land for private profit and not for use. Social work as a profession was built up for the purpose of healing these wounds. Social workers, ever since I can remember, have looked for schemes and plans and have suggested schemes and plans. I am tired of hearing people say that social workers as social workers believe in this kind of poverty and the control of it. I do not know of any social workers who have ever believed in this kind of thing. No group of people in America have been as impatient at the treatment of poverty as have the social workers, and I believe that the fact that we have arrived at the place where we are today is due in no small degree to that great army of social workers in America who have carried this gospel from one end of the country to the other for the last fifty years.

So now we think of these impoverished people, at the moment almost numberless, but ten, fifteen, twenty years from now still a very large number, and we want for them a good life. We want for them security. We do not want for them fear and relief. The plan which I propose is not new. I am not submitting it as anything that is perfect. I hope that it and all other methods of meeting this problem which are being and will be discussed—I believe they will be in the coming months—will lead us to aggressive action and affirmative action which in our time will give to the millions of Americans the kind of security to which they are entitled.

POPULATION AND SOCIAL WORK

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MOMENTOUS changes in the growth of population are now taking place and these changes cannot fail to affect social work in numerous ways. Changes in rate of growth, changes in nativity composition, changes in the proportions in the several age groups, and changes in occupational make-up all will be reflected in the changing demands made upon social workers in the future. It is my task to set forth, first, the most significant of these population changes; and, second, to make a beginning of evaluating them in terms of social work.

The first and most obvious of all the population changes now in process is the slowing-up of our population growth. The striking nature of this change is shown in Chart I. Whereas, population grew by 700 per cent during the first seventy years of our census-taking, ending in 1860, it grew by only 300 per cent during the second seventy years, ending in 1930, while under the most favorable conditions that are within the realm of probability it will not grow more than about 50 per cent in the ensuing seventy years. It appears highly probable that in our present phase of growth we shall not add more than ten or fifteen millions to our present numbers before we cease to grow, and after that it will not be long until there is an actual decline (see low line on Chart II). The population in 1980, if growth follows this line, will be only slightly above what it was in 1930, and almost identical with that with which we started the present year, viz., 126,243,000.

In the past, population growth in this country has been the resultant of three variables: the birth-rate, the death-rate, and

the net inflow, or outflow, of migrants. Generally there has been a large net immigration. It will, therefore, be of some interest to note briefly the changes taking place in these three factors in recent years.

CHART I

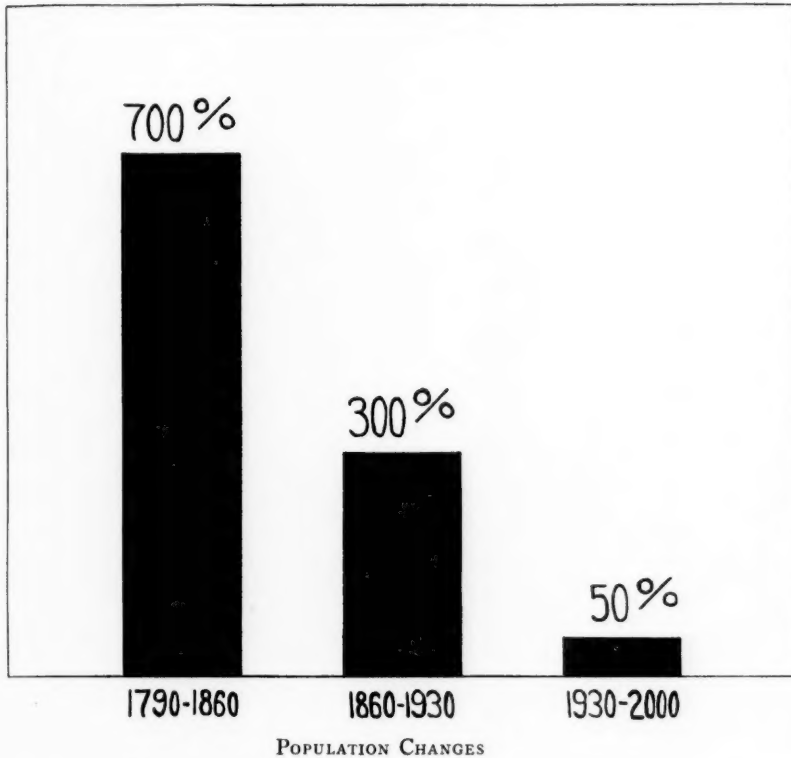
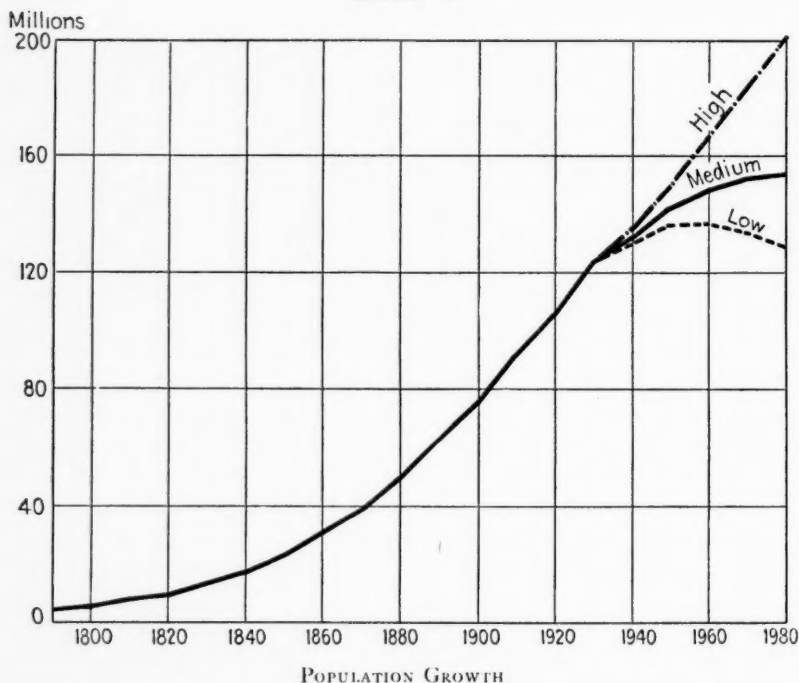


Chart III shows the changes in the birth-rates per one thousand women of certain ages between 1920 and 1929. The upper segment of the bar represents the decline in the birth-rate during this interval. Since 1929 it appears that this decline is even more rapid than during the preceding decade, in most parts of the country, and in most nativity and racial groups. This is inferred from the rapid decline in number of births, since the age data on which to base new birth-rates will not be available until

a new census is taken. Fortunately, it now appears probable that there will be a census yet this year—a consummation devoutly to be wished! The decline in the number of births between 1930 and 1931 was 105,000, between 1931 and 1932 it was 59,400, and between 1932 and 1933 it was approximately 111,000—about 275,000 in three years. In the decade 1923-33 the total

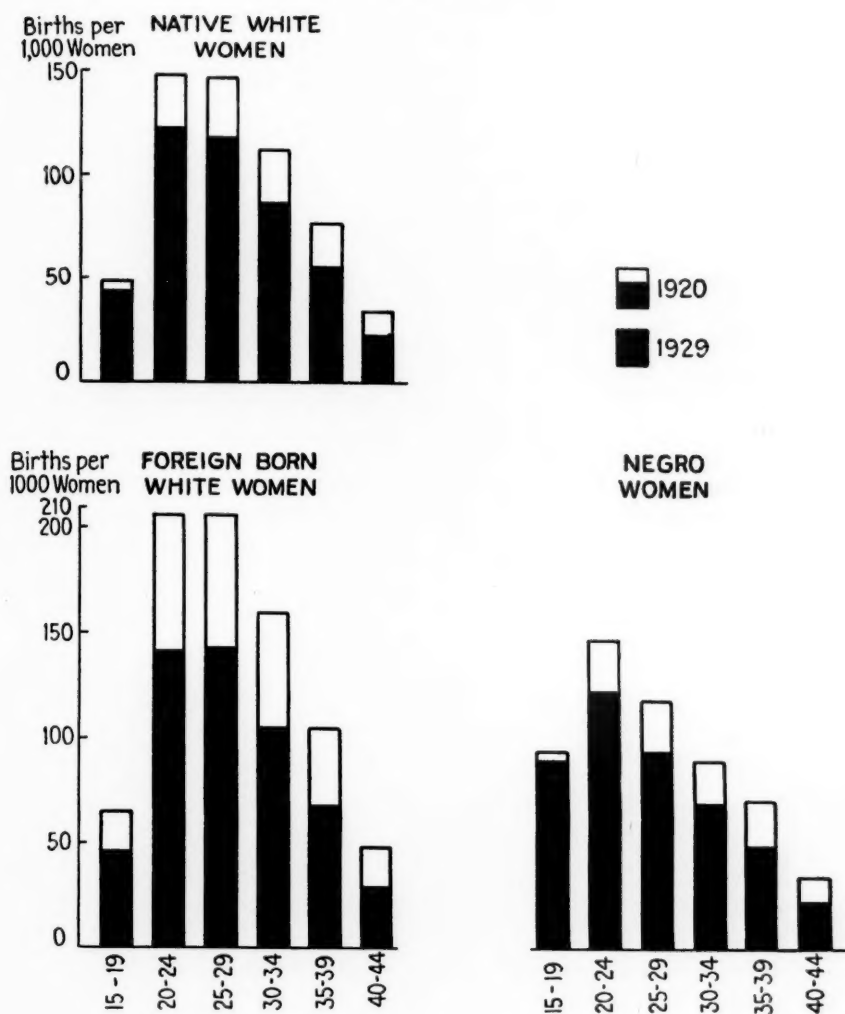
CHART II



number of births declined from about 2,825,000 to 2,290,000 and the number of births in 1933 was the smallest it has been at any time since it became possible to estimate total births with fair accuracy, viz., since 1900 when our population was only seventy-five millions compared with one hundred and twenty-six millions today. The decline in the birth-rate has, of course, been even more striking than the decline in number of births.

The death-rate, like the birth-rate, has been declining stead-

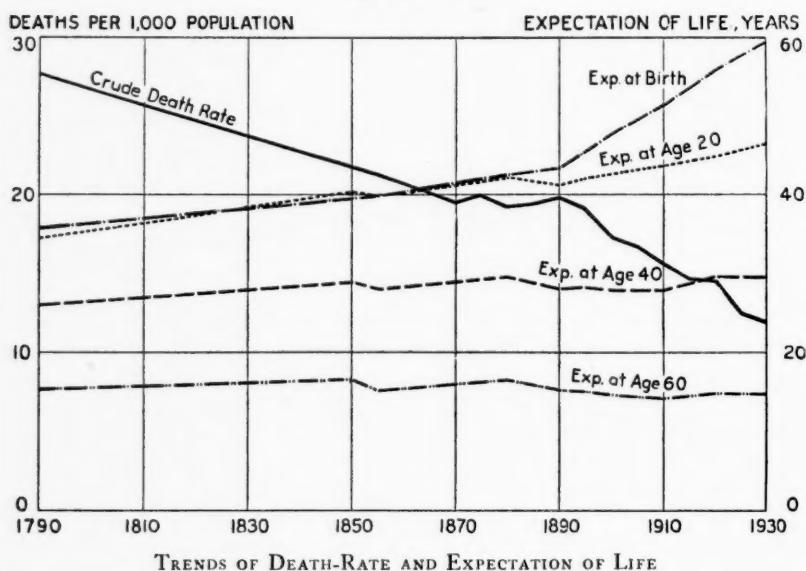
CHART III



CHANGES IN BIRTH-RATES

ily for a number of years, but, unlike the number of births, the number of deaths has remained almost stationary since about 1910. The trends of crude death-rate and of the expectation of life at different ages are shown in Chart IV. The heavy black line shows the trend of the crude death-rate; this has been almost consistently downward for a century and a half in Massa-

CHART IV

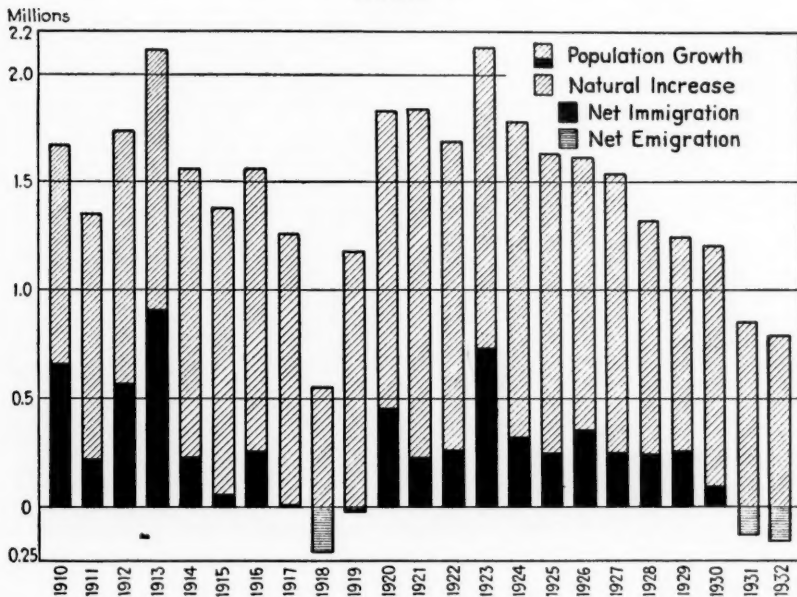


chusetts, which is probably fairly typical of all parts of the country. The line showing the expectation of life at birth indicates that this has been going up for a long time, but especially during the last forty years. The campaign against infant mortality has been highly effective. The line of the expectation of life at age twenty, like the expectation of life at birth, shows that it, too, has been going up but not as rapidly. The line of the expectation of life at age forty and the line of the same at age sixty do not show much improvement. People at the older ages do not live much longer now than in the past.

Chart V pictures the net result of the birth-rate and death-

rate on population growth and also shows the part played by immigration. Since 1930 the net movement of migrants has been outward rather than inward, so that our population increase has been less than our natural increase. This probably will not continue for long, however, since the foreign-born are playing a less and less important rôle in the nation's population growth.

CHART V



RESULT OF BIRTH AND DEATH RATE ON POPULATION GROWTH

The net effect of the trends in these various factors is that we are rapidly approaching a stationary population which will probably number around one hundred and thirty-five millions. But it will not long remain stationary, because the birth-rate is already too low to support our present population when its age composition becomes stabilized under the prevailing birth- and death-rates. Besides, there is as yet no indication that the decline in the birth-rate is at an end.

I believe the preponderance of evidence points to the volun-

tary control of conception as the chief factor in this decline rather than to any fundamental change in the reproductive capacity of our people. When the history of the Western world is written a century or two hence, I believe that spread of contraception will be regarded as one of the most important factors in determining the course of social evolution in the latter part of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century.

The question in which social workers are chiefly interested is, no doubt, how this slowing-up, or even the cessation of population growth during the next two or three decades, will affect their work. I do not claim the ability to answer this question satisfactorily, for I believe that the repercussions from a change of such magnitude are likely to be both great and numerous, and that many of them cannot be foretold except in the most general terms.

For one thing population groups are fairly certain to become more stable than in the past. There will be less mushroom development in new communities and fewer people moving into large cities, fewer new industries calling for huge concentrations of population in particular localities, and fewer discoveries of economic and climatic advantages to call large surplus populations from one center to another. Hence, it seems not improbable that men will become more fixed both in abode and in occupation than has been the case heretofore. Against this view it may be urged that in the near future the decentralization of industry and large offices will make for a less stable population than in the past, also that new types of movable houses will add to the mobility of the population. These changes are altogether possible, but, short of a revolution as profound as that in Russia, I do not believe that they will proceed fast enough to offset the greater stability that will naturally follow upon the slackening of population growth.

Furthermore, we shall probably never again have the rapid crowding-out of one group of immigrants by a newer group with lower standards of living which has been so characteristic of the entrance of the foreign-born into our cities. Nor are we so like-

ly to see the rapid changes in the nationality composition of the population in many rural communities which has occurred so frequently in the past.

From the standpoint of the social worker it would appear that an increase in social stability should do much to make the results of social work more to be depended upon. One of the great handicaps of social workers in this country has been the great instability of the population. Much movement from place to place, movement from occupation to occupation, movement from class to class, and movement from job to job have rendered the task of the social worker both more arduous and more uncertain in accomplishment. Increased social and spatial stability will no doubt present new problems of its own, for example, more permanent slum populations, but it would seem reasonable to hope that it will also remove some of the perplexities and uncertainties which now beset social workers dealing with highly unstable groups.

The slowing-up of population growth is also practically certain to give us a breathing space in which to consider more carefully than we have been able to hitherto the direction in which we are headed. Social workers should not be so pushed with their urgent tasks that they will not have time to ask themselves what is the significance of their work in the larger scheme of the community's life. As long as more and more work piled up because of the rapid increase of population and as long as the strength of social workers was almost exhausted in caring for the steady increment of "cases," it was inevitable that much social work should be of an emergency character. When something has to be done and done at once, the way in which it is done and its relation to a larger whole are likely to be considered of secondary importance. This is perhaps inevitable, and is in no way blameworthy. But with numbers increasing slowly, or not at all, necessity will no longer supply the excuse for inefficient work; more and more the quality of work will be judged by the way in which it contributes to social welfare conceived in a larger way.

It should also be noted that many of our most perplexing social problems are rather closely connected with the high land values found in cities. These land values are practically certain to remain deflated, or to be still more deflated, as population ceases to grow. Since current land values in most of our cities carry a large element of appreciation, anticipated because of continued growth in population, it seems reasonably certain that these values can no longer be maintained when population grows slowly, or not at all. This should have a marked effect not only on the cost of housing in customary units but also in encouraging new unit schemes for providing better housing in urban communities. Social workers should, therefore, welcome the passing of the exorbitant land values which have stood in the way of many of their schemes ever since modern industrialism began to concentrate population and to make necessary trained workers to look after the wreckage it left in its wake. Certainly the fact that population increase is becoming slower and that land values are practically certain to remain deflated should rejoice the hearts of those social workers whose chief interests are in better housing and recreation and in other social improvements whose accomplishment is more or less closely conditioned by the ability of the community to secure land at moderate prices.

Assuming that the present restriction of immigration will continue as long as there is unemployment, which, so far as one can now see, will be for some time to come, it is obvious that our population will become more native. The foreign-born will soon be of comparatively little importance even in the great cities where they have settled in such vast numbers since 1900. This passing of the foreign-born should be of much interest to social workers. Instead of having to deal with numerous groups having different national backgrounds, different languages, and different attitudes toward our institutions, they will find an increasingly homogeneous group which has passed through our public schools, has participated to some extent in our political life, and has developed a distinctly different outlook on life. I am not saying that this semi-Americanized group of the second

or even the third generation will be easier for social workers to deal with than the foreign-born; that may or may not be the case, but it will certainly require quite different treatment in many respects from the culturally more heterogeneous foreign-born groups that have claimed so much of the attention of social workers in the past. In the course of a decade or two it would seem that the results of work with this group should be somewhat more certain, and in this respect more satisfactory, than those that have been obtained by work with their parents and grandparents; but it may not work out this way at all. The only really sure thing is that a different technique will have to be pursued in dealing with problem cases among the children and grandchildren of immigrants from that used among the immigrants themselves.

Another point of some importance in connection with the cessation of immigration and the more complete settlement of the newer parts of the country is that the sexes will gradually become more nearly equal. As long as a large and preponderantly male immigration was taking place the proportion of males was bound to be high. Also as long as there was any considerable pioneer movement into the West the proportion of males remained high in that region. This will change rapidly now, and in most communities there will soon be little or no male preponderance. It is difficult to see any very definite ways in which this change will affect social work. It may be that wives will be somewhat easier to obtain, but whether this will affect the amount of divorce, separation, and desertion cannot be told. All that can safely be said is that changes in sex ratios should be watched carefully so that social workers may be prepared to deal with any new situations that arise in consequence of these changes.

There is one change in population growth which all social workers would like to see take place, viz., the proportional diminution of the defective class. Unfortunately there is nothing in the stoppage of population growth which of itself would diminish the proportion of the population in this class. Indeed,

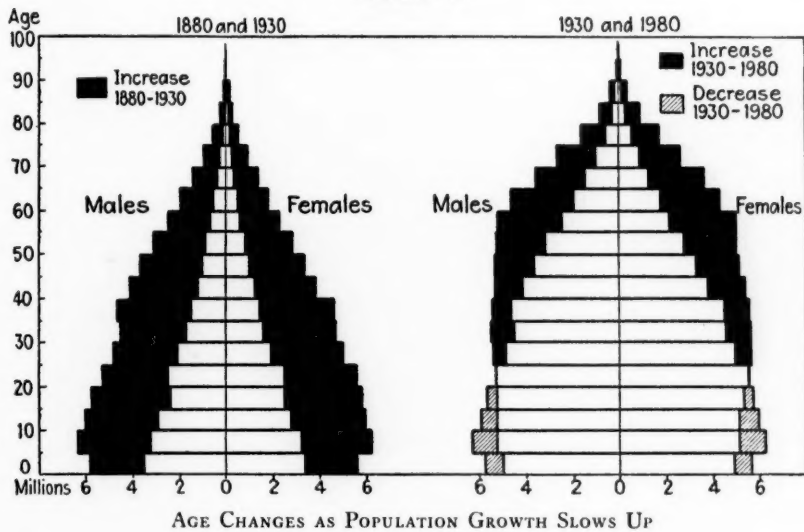
one of the arguments often used against birth control is that the defectives keep on breeding as they always have while the better endowed cut the size of their families. It appears, however, that in California, where the general birth-rate is lower than in most other states, the defectives also have a lower birth-rate than elsewhere. One would infer that the use of contraceptives in California is not confined to the so-called normal population, although as yet it is more common in this group. But even though some of the defectives are practicing family limitation, it is not improbable that they are increasing somewhat more rapidly than the more comfortable economic classes, hence that they are contributing a larger proportion of the next generation. There has probably been considerable tendency on the part of ardent eugenisists to exaggerate the increase of the defectives as compared with normal people as a whole; but even the possibility of such a tendency should not be ignored, although it may not be sufficient to become excited about.

If we do not want the defectives, the near-defectives, and the ne'er-do-wells to grow more rapidly than normal people, it would seem the part of common sense to see that they have as easy access to the means of reducing births as the more fortunate part of the population. As matters now stand there can be little doubt but that the defectives and the economically handicapped are among the last to learn of fairly easy and safe methods of contraception. Certainly they have the greatest difficulty in providing themselves with the materials necessary for the exercise of sure control over the size of their families. Only access to good birth-control clinics, which would be easier to effect with the repeal of the Comstock Law, will even up matters in this respect between the different social and economic classes. There is some evidence in certain European countries, where citizens are trusted more readily with birth-control information and appliances than in the United States, that when birth control has become practically universal the families of the poor are smaller than those of people in better circumstances. It is to be hoped that we shall soon have opportunity to see whether this same

trend will manifest itself in this country. If it does not work out in this way here we shall have to extend compulsory sterilization to all those people who are reasonably certain to contribute sub-normal children to our population. But before we go very far in this direction it would seem the part of wisdom to see what voluntary birth control and sterilization will accomplish.

I must hasten on to the consideration of the age changes which will certainly take place as the growth of population slows up.

CHART VI



These are perhaps the most important of all the population changes with which the social worker must deal. They are also of very great importance to the entire community in a variety of ways.

The general nature of these changes is shown graphically in Chart VI. The white part of the pyramid to the left shows the age make-up of our population in 1880. Each offset of the pyramid represents a five-year group. It will be seen that this is almost a true pyramid, as any rapidly growing population always is. The only exception is due to the very large number of immigrants in the young adult ages who were entering at that time.

By 1930, however, the black and the white together in this same figure, the under-five group is smaller than the next older group and the offsets for the next three or four age intervals are quite small. This shows that for some time past the zero to four group has been but slightly larger than the five to nine group. Only since 1924, however, has it actually been smaller.

The white part of the pyramid on the right plus the shaded is also the 1930 population and is, therefore, a duplicate of the white and black just described. The shaded indicates the probable decline in numbers in the age groups under twenty between 1930 and 1980, while the black indicates the probable increase in the older age groups. It will be noticed that the increase mounts rapidly after twenty-five years of age and attains its maximum at about sixty. It is not difficult to understand why this should be so. The actual number of births was increasing almost steadily until 1921 and remained high until ten years ago. An increasing number of births, together with declining infant mortality, means rapidly increasing numbers in the older ages fifty to sixty years later. In like manner, when the children being born now reach these ages the number of old people will be fewer, although as the base of what was formerly a pyramid contracts the proportion in these older groups increases.

I do not want to bore the reader with figures, but two or three are necessary in order to make clear the significance of the changes shown on the chart. In 1930, 38.8 per cent of our population was under twenty years of age, in 1980 it seems probable that only about 26 per cent will be of this age, indeed a decline of the birth-rate for a few more years at the same rate as during the last five years and the proportion of the population under twenty at that time will be well under 25 per cent. In 1930, 38.4 per cent of the population was twenty to forty-four years of age. This proportion will decline only slightly during the next half-century to about 35 per cent in 1980. In the forty-five to sixty-four age group the change will be considerable; it will rise from 17.5 per cent in 1930 to about 26 per cent in 1980—almost one-half. At ages of sixty-five and over the percentage will more

than double, going from 5.4 per cent in 1930 to over 12 per cent in 1980.

These proportions were calculated on the assumption that the total population would be about one hundred and fifty-five millions in 1980. If it should be appreciably smaller than that, as now appears likely, the proportional decline in the under twenty group will be still greater and the increase in the older age groups will be still higher. Certainly these are vast changes, and while it is not possible to foresee all that they involve in the way of social and economic adjustments, yet it requires no prophet to foretell that we shall all have to revise many of our attitudes of mind and habits of conduct when we live in a world where persons under twenty are only about two-thirds as numerous as persons over forty-five and the latter constitute almost two-fifths of the total population.

At present a very considerable proportion of all social work is concerned with the various aspects of child welfare. Homes for dependent children, child placement, work with delinquent children, and institutions for the care of the defectives, to mention only a few of the more important types of child welfare work, absorb a very considerable part of all the efforts of social workers. It seems quite obvious that if the present trends in population growth continue they will assist materially in the solution of some of the child welfare problems. For example, it will not be long until the huge families of normal parents which now necessitate a large amount of family aid will be a thing of the past. I predict that in the not distant future the families of normal persons will be kept within the economic means of the breadwinner. Then, barring such unusual catastrophes as that we are now passing through, there will be little need for economic assistance to families merely because their breeding capacity exceeds their economic capacity.

But even when there is a very satisfactory measure of control of the size of the family by the normal population, there will still be certain groups that will have more children than they can care for. These groups will consist primarily of those who are so

weak mentally that they can exercise little foresight and so socially incompetent that they do not mind being dependent on the community. Where mental defects can be clearly proved, such persons should be sterilized or segregated (sterilization is much cheaper) as soon as possible. Where they are only socially inadequate, they should be given special encouragement not to raise children until they learn how to care for them and can give them such a training for life that they will not be likely to become dependents in their turn. The community has a right to insist that those who cannot, or will not, care for their children under normal conditions shall not have them. As was said above the spread of birth control will help greatly but it will not be sufficient to keep many of the most dangerous defectives from rearing families as large as the community will care for.

It seems highly probable, then, that the task of social workers in caring for dependent and delinquent children will be considerably lightened as population growth becomes slower through the diminution in size of the families of the poorer classes which is now taking place. But any considerable decrease in the proportion of defectives in the population can scarcely be expected until the community takes control of their reproduction, for they are not likely of their own accord to make sufficient effort to keep down the number of their children. But at the same time that children are requiring less attention from social workers it is practically certain that older people will require considerably more attention from them and a great deal more in the way of financial aid from the community. The population between forty-five and sixty-five years of age will increase by one-half in proportion and by somewhat more than one-half in numbers during the next few decades. This group should not require much attention from social workers in a well-ordered society; but the fact is that people of this age are increasingly having to look to the community for help. Much has been said of late of the difficulty of men past forty or forty-five holding their jobs—especially handworkers in industry and clerical workers in offices—and it appears that it is even more difficult for the mid-

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dle-aged man out of work to find another job. I do not mean to suggest that it is the business of social workers any more than of the rest of us to see that the middle-aged are employed, but I do want to call attention to the fact that social workers are going to be compelled to devote more and more attention to this group unless our present economic structure is so changed that these people can be given jobs suited to their strength and capacities.

It is a trite saying that it is the job of the social worker to do himself or herself out of a job by working for changes that will make it possible for the unfortunate to care for themselves. This is particularly true of the group under discussion. Able-bodied men and women forty-five to sixty-five years of age should never, under normal conditions, have to appeal for aid, either for themselves or their dependents. But they do now, and they will have to do so even more as time passes unless we can change the social system sufficiently to guarantee them security in jobs. Social workers can only look with the greatest misgiving upon this added burden likely to be loaded upon them, for it will certainly be quite a different task from that of assisting the broken family which now occupies such a large part of their efforts or even that of assisting the aged who have but a short span of life before them.

But assuming that the increasing proportion of our population forty-five to sixty-five can be given suitable jobs, we shall still have an increasingly difficult problem in caring for the aged.

Our population over sixty-four will be almost three times as great in 1980 as it now is, and since these people are already born, this number in 1980 will not be affected by any further lowering of the birth-rate. Further decline of the birth-rate will only serve to increase the proportion of the aged in the total population of 1980; it will affect their numbers not at all.

Furthermore, it seems not improbable that this increase in the number of the aged will be accompanied by an increase in the proportion of them likely to become public charges. The

reason for this is that with the small families which these people will have they will be more likely to arrive at old age with no children to whom they can turn when in need. To offset this there will, of course, be increased opportunity for savings because of the small families; but that the savings of any considerable proportion of the poorer classes will ever be adequate to maintain them seems rather unlikely in the light of past experience. Throughout human history children have been the best form of old-age insurance. Such insurance is now being liquidated and the probabilities would seem to be that the community must assume more and more of the care of the aged.

Still another reason for thinking that the rapid increase in the aged will be accompanied by an even more rapid increase in old-age dependency is to be found in the changing character of our social order. The industrialization and the urbanization of our population have made self-help by the aged increasingly difficult. The city simply does not offer the opportunity to elderly people to do the chores and raise the food which will render them self-supporting. How large a factor this may prove to be in the future of old-age dependency will be determined by the distribution of population. Any large development of part-time farming on small acreage plots might in time lead to a large increase of self-support on the part of the aged worker whose strength no longer permits regular employment. Certainly much thought must be given to the effects of these changes by social workers if they are to be ready to carry on effectively in the future.

In conclusion I shall sum up very briefly. The United States has now definitely passed out of the period of rapid growth. Our population will soon be stationary, unless we encourage large immigration, and may even begin to decline within two or three decades if the birth-rate continues to drop. This slowing-up of population growth arises from the decline in the birth-rate and from the cessation of immigration. With slow growth, or no growth, social workers as well as all others who deal more or less directly with people should have more ample opportunity to do

a good job than in the past when the press of a large and steady increase distracted them from some of the more fundamental problems.

The most important of all the changes in the composition of our people following upon slower growth is the change in their age make-up. The number and proportion of children is declining and will continue to decline rather rapidly while the number and proportion of old people is mounting just as rapidly. Clearly the tasks of social workers will be much affected by these changes—affected directly by the changes in the proportions of the several age groups because of the different kinds of supervision and care needed by these different age groups, and indirectly by the changes in our entire social organization likely to ensue upon these age changes.

If, therefore, social workers are not only to maintain the effectiveness of their work at the level already attained but to increase its usefulness to the community, they will find it necessary to take full account of the great changes in population growth which are now in process. I do not for a moment imply that this is the only, or even the paramount, factor to be considered in keeping social work abreast of the times, but I do urge that population changes are fundamental and that they must be known and understood if social work is to contribute its best to community welfare.

SOCIAL WORK MARCHES ON

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I

THERE is a challenge in the caption "Social Work Marches On." That challenge is directed to social workers themselves. We are asked to examine the cause for which we strive and the goals to which we aspire. Our reflections must include the perspective of the historian, the insight of the philosopher, and the horizon of the sociologist. In the crucible of the present, society is testing and purifying itself and our experiments are being pronounced successes or failures. In the piercing glare of that crucible we must survey the past and try to prophesy the future. Pessimism discourages and paralyzes. We need sane optimism and a dynamic view of social conditions if we really are to see social work on the march.

Social work is in reality a cause—the cause of human welfare. It is not a sporadic foray into the field of social evils. It is a tremendous and continuing cause, something well worth fighting for. Its battles range unceasingly over a wide front. Social work is born of a spirit that demands justice and attacks unfair social conditions. Its followers march forward toward a social system in which justice shall prevail, and wherein charity shall be the bond of perfection.

How some of us dislike that word "charity"! We like nothing better than to lambast it every chance we get. Look at the root meaning for a moment and tell me if there is another word in all the world that better describes the spirit of the social work of these distressful days. Charity, not in its debased secondary meaning of current usage, but charity in its primary, funda-

mental, sacred significance—*charitas*, “love”—the love of God and the love of neighbor because of love of God, therefore the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

Why, there is a spark of that divine charity in every social worker worthy of the name—the kind of charity which Saint Paul says shall be the bond of perfection—else never could we have marched on during these years through the valley of the shadow of death. Deep down in our souls we have that reverence for our fellow-man, that consecration to service, that love of neighbor, that holy impatience with the social condition that oppresses the underprivileged, that raise our work beyond the status even of a profession and into the realm of a vocation. And so I say: God bless the social workers of America; they have done their job well during these years of depression and against fearful odds and with honor and glory to the cause to which they have dedicated their lives.

Every cause dealing with human nature is subject to the vicissitudes of life. Those who espouse it with zeal and enthusiasm must be ready to face many obstacles. Difficulties are but spurs to courage and stamina. If the shadowy doubts of pessimism now becloud the perspective of some, it is high time to take a hasty glance over the road upon which we have traveled.

We shall see there, first, a valiant and successful struggle to provide intelligent, humane care for individuals and families in need; second, an ever widening recognition of social responsibility for the destitute and the handicapped; and third, encouraging progress toward a better social and economic order destined to eliminate the old causes of dependency.

Can anyone gainsay the fact that during the last century the people of this country have been led to adopt a nobler and a finer attitude toward individuals and families in need of assistance? Why less than one hundred years ago public officials in this country took poor families and, whether they liked it or not, gathered them into almshouses. That was the panacea offered to rid the community of those stigmatized as paupers.

Private agencies went a step farther. They allowed the poor to remain in their own homes but cautioned them, advised them—yes, warned them—that their poverty was due to themselves alone.

A little over fifty years ago we started toward a new philosophy in dealing with families. Relief-giving constituted the social work of that day. Some there were, however, who felt that relief, though worth while, was not in itself sufficient. They held that poor families should be visited and through understanding, sympathy, and encouragement assisted to a condition of self-support. The giving of relief in money or in kind might be helpful, but if these ministrations were devoid of friendly counsel they would be barren of real accomplishment.

Gradually the realization grew that man is more than a physical being, even more than a personality with emotional reactions, or a creature with intellectual life influenced by subconscious thinking. Social agencies came to realize that man is all this and something infinitely more—he is a person. He has a spiritual element, an immaterial and indestructible principle called a "soul," and for this reason, above all others, he is of intrinsic worth. Coupled with this development has come an increased reverence for family life as the nursery of childhood and the bulwark of our social institutions. Progress of social work has been intimately connected with this fuller recognition of the spiritual element in man and the importance of family ties.

In the eighties of the last century we can discern the beginning of that relationship which we now term "case work" and to which social work owes so much of its progress. Through that approach we came to look upon dependent individuals and families more kindly and intelligently; we eliminated in large measure the element of blame; we interpreted facts and at least tried to set aside our preconceived opinions. To secure a better and fuller life for those who came to us we hurdled the barrier of relief and invoked the aid of every science conducive to human welfare. Religion, medicine, law, psychiatry, mental hygiene, and education generously offered their contributions. And social

work brought all these contributions to bear upon the welfare of the entire man.

Through the case-work approach we have struggled to keep our clients, who frequently could not speak for themselves, from being regimented by mass relief. We have tried, not always successfully, but always earnestly and sincerely, to supply their varied needs of body, mind, and soul.

Not least among those who have been helped are the children of the poor. Only too often had they been separated permanently from their own families because of poverty or neglect. Our pioneering predecessors arrested nation-wide attention concerning this practice in the declarations of the White House Conference of 1909. They sounded a clarion call to all America, heralding the truth that the home, rich or poor, is the strength of the nation, and that poverty alone is never an excuse for shattering it.

Who can deny the magnificent work of Clifford Beers and Dr. Thomas Salmon in initiating the movement which has brought individual, constructive care to thousands of the mentally afflicted? Mary Richmond, long before we were acquainted with the psychological concepts now prevailing in case work, led us to new heights of understanding. Charles Birtwell and Thomas Mulry taught us that the needs of children could not be satisfied by one mold or type of foster-care. Through the case-work approach we came to see that delinquent children had no place in the criminal courts. However, we may criticize the administration of juvenile courts, we must admit that they marked a forward step. And so with mothers' allowances, now effective in forty-six states. The benefits which these allowances have brought to a quarter of a million children now living with their own mothers are a real tribute to the social-mindedness of those who recognized that fatherless children can be better fitted for life in their own homes. These are gains which should not be shut out from our eyes by the intensified distress of the last five years.

II

The unprejudiced observer must also discern a constant widening of the acceptance of social responsibility for those in need. The history of this country justified to some extent the old view that those who could not support themselves were to blame for their own condition. Through the nineteenth century America offered almost unlimited opportunities for the courageous and hard-working family. As late as 1880 we were still an agricultural people, and the soil was the great source of wealth. But at the turn of the century we found ourselves a nation of manufacturers with a people highly urbanized. Out of our experience there grew up a philosophy of life that placed unlimited emphasis on individual industry and liberty.

Government in those days interfered slightly, if at all, in the economic development. The prevalent economic thinking might be summed up in this fashion: Was not the frontier beckoning to those in whose blood ran the strain of the pioneer? Were not the theories of classical economists being proved day by day? Was not America becoming greater and greater? What were social workers for in that golden age of unbridled competition but to be the "salvage corps" rescuing those who failed in the mad scramble where wealth and victory were to the swift, the strong, and the unscrupulous?

But even in the heyday of its power, this ruthless economic order did not go unchallenged. Patiently and persistently people devoted to the doctrine that we are all children of the one Father raised temples of mercy as monuments to the principle that human beings are of more value than gold. In spite of an economic development motivated by selfishness, the cause of social work marched forward, because the primacy of the family and the worth of the individual had been imbedded deeply by social workers into the consciousness of America.

The seeds thus planted by social work gained nourishment and strength in the great drives for funds conducted during the World War. Later they bore fruit in the development of com-

munity chests in scores of cities, and in the initiating of vast social programs by states and municipalities. It was not, however, until the coming of the present depression that we saw the full flowering of this consciousness on the part of our people in the broader recognition of their responsibilities toward the victims of unemployment.

Never before in the history of this country has relief been dispensed on so great a scale. It is true that the need was never more urgent, and it is also true that all relief needs have not been met. Nevertheless, it is possible to trace the growing consciousness of social responsibility through the years since 1929. In the beginning the private relief and service agencies bore the brunt of the battle. It is idle to say that they did not do case work for all who came to them. In the presence of a catastrophe they served with the means at hand. They did a great deal more. In practically every city they demonstrated to high-minded citizens that the security of millions, and thereby the security of society, depended upon the recognition of the principle that we are "our brothers' keepers."

Later, when citizen relief committees could no longer breast the surging waves of dependency, social agencies insistently demanded that municipalities and states take on themselves a share of the ever increasing burden of relief. Finally, it was necessary to appeal to the federal government, first for loans and then for direct grants.

In this wider acceptance of responsibility for those in want, and in the fulfilment of that responsibility, social work has played a leading part. It has helped to preserve the morale of the nation by keeping before our people the primacy of the family and the worth of the individual. It has co-ordinated the work of public and private agencies. It has fought, day in and day out, for adequate relief to conserve home life. It has pleaded that this relief be given, not in kind or in tickets, but in actual cash, so that millions of men and women may be able to exercise some discretion in the conduct of their own home life. It has emphasized the value of work relief and public works in con-

serving the self-respect of upright but penniless heads of families. It has warred incessantly against the regimentation of mass relief and the separation of children from their homes because of poverty.

Thus the standards of social work, built up so laboriously in the last fifty years, have not been sacrificed under the pressure of providing relief. We have held fast to the essential principles of our cause and have persuaded the public to adopt them. It may well be that some future historian, seeking the social philosophy of these days, will record that America had been taught so to treasure her men and her families that she was willing to mortgage even the future for their preservation.

III

And now we address ourselves to the future. We have passed another milestone in the march of social work. Whereas we hope the most arduous and trying days are behind us, undoubtedly the most important are just ahead. We must consolidate our gains. If we shall continue to march on, we must utilize the accomplishments of the past to the attainment of the true and ultimate end of social work, that is, not merely the alleviation of social distress, but the elimination of the causes of social evils.

In the pressing days of pioneer work in our field the multiplicity and acuteness of the problems encountered mitigated against the formulation of principles and philosophies. During the bounteous days prior to 1929 we were perhaps inclined to give too great a lip service and not enough of heart and mind to the consideration of causes and prevention. As we face the future, however, we realize the vital necessity of delving beneath the things we find and seeking their source and roots.

Of course we must continue to meet the immediate difficulties that confront us and to adopt remedial measures to alleviate them. We should earnestly bend our efforts to the achievement of a program of social legislation making adequate provision for the needy aged. We should press for a widespread adoption

of proper low-cost housing facilities. We should promote legislative measures for extensive public works, for the stabilization of employment, for compensation during involuntary unemployment, and for free employment bureaus throughout the country. In addition, we should give particular attention to a problem which, although it is of major importance, has heretofore received little consideration, and that is the integration of a progressive agricultural program with our industrial program.

These are concrete expressions of the needs which have manifested themselves in recent times. Their accomplishment will go a long way toward the alleviation of the trying problems that now beset us.

But such a program is not enough. It deals only with effects. We must determine the basic causes of social evils before we can permanently eradicate them. To overlook these and concern ourselves entirely with the effects is to hide our heads in the sand. Frank, unadulterated selfishness—"enlightened selfishness," as Adam Smith and his confrères called it—has ruled the activities of the economic order heretofore. The common good, the rights of the consumer, or consideration for the worker had no part in this relentless economic policy. Pyramided on a foundation of greed, the catastrophic fall of such an order was inevitable. Herein lies our point of departure. We must build up a new economic structure based on the solid foundation of social justice or the structure that will rise on the ruins of this depression will but crash again when it is overburdened with the fruits of selfishness and avaricious greed.

Not the abolition of the right to own the goods of this world—on the contrary, the extension of the opportunity to own these goods is the end to be sought. We must make it possible for many persons, not a few, to own the goods which are available. Wide dissemination of the power to purchase is essential for a sustained prosperity. Ability to buy requires increased wages, higher standards of living, and a fair relationship between capital and labor.

The N.R.A. has done much, but it contains within itself the germs of dissolution unless labor is given an effective voice in the determination of working conditions. The interests of the consumer and the employee must be equally protected with those of the employer. We must create real unions with the right of collective bargaining, not as a concession, not bludgeoned from employers, but mutually agreed upon as part of a sound policy insuring fair practice in industry and promising prosperity for all.

It is obvious that social workers by themselves cannot bring about these important objectives in the economic order. Their realization involves a broader theater of activity. No mere fiat from social workers will achieve the goals we seek. By the very reasonableness and truth of our position we must enlist the support of all the other constructive forces in the community. Herein it seems to me lies the dominant note in the social work of the future, and the rays of its dawn should color the outlook of this Conference if we shall not have met here in vain.

Medical science rose to real heights not when it devised remedies for illness, but when it ferreted out the cause of certain maladies and brought this knowledge to an incredulous world. Along this path lies true progress. We now realize many of the causes underlying the bad social conditions of our time. Our greatest service to mankind is to mold that knowledge into an inspired and vitalizing leadership in the community, and thereby secure a united attack on the fundamental factors producing social maladjustment.

This is no academic nicety or idealistic platform, but a practical and vital need which immediately confronts us. By itself the profession of social work can do little; but in union with the great forces of labor, industry, education, religion, and government, it can accomplish much.

Recently the interest of the federal government in social reform was ridiculed in a speech made at Washington by one apparently oblivious to the effects wrought by the system of unbridled competition. He said: "In our zeal to get out of the de-

pression, it seems to conservative thinkers that we have given more attention to social reforms than we have to the correction of temporary maladjustments." In supporting his contention he quotes an economist of the individualistic school to this effect: "It is not the function of the state to make men happy. They must make themselves happy in their own way, at their own risk." The obvious answer is that whenever the pursuit of happiness is jeopardized by economic domination, it is the solemn duty of the state to intervene.

Any scheme that entirely banishes government from the economic order is fundamentally erroneous. This is no doctrine born of the depression. A great world-teacher set down this principle years ago—"Whenever the general interest of any particular class suffers or is threatened with evils which can in no other way be met, the public authority must step in to meet them." In our own day the pope of social justice—Pius XI—tells us that "the public institutions of the nations must be such as to make the whole of human society conform to the common good, that is, to the standard of social justice." To attempt to disparage such a principle by calling it "socialism" is to distort the truth.

Say what you will, the social consciousness of America is attuned to social reform. The rank and file are seeking one thing desperately—security. They have a right to a security of life, a right to work, to build their own homes, to rear their children in the midst of a reasonable measure of future security. Their savings, whether placed in banks or in investments, should be safeguarded from trickery and misrepresentation. No one plan, no many-pointed program, no panacea, will give them the security they need. But a united nation, dedicated to social justice and directing all its forces toward the common good, can move forward step by step toward a more equitable distribution of ownership, and a happier life for the plain people of the land.

The history of the decades that have passed and the record of the present stressful days give ample evidence that social work is marching on. Up to the present it needs no apology for its

achievements. It has stood the test. It has kept the faith. It has fought a good fight for intelligent, humane care for the needy. It has diffused throughout our entire people an active recognition of social responsibility for the destitute and the handicapped. Where it has failed, the failure stands as an indictment against those too blind to see. It shall continue to march forward and to fulfil its sacred mission if its leaders possess the courage, the spirit, and the pioneering boldness needed by those who would participate in the creation of a new and better social order.

SECTION MEETINGS

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CURRENT RELIEF PROGRAM

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RÉSUMÉ OF IMPORTANT CHANGES IN POLICY

Important changes introduced in the text of the Act of 1933 were:

1. Concentration of power and responsibility in the hands of a single federal emergency relief administrator.
2. Abandonment of the principle of loans to states and substitution of the principle of grants-in-aid.
3. Reimbursement to states on the basis of the previous quarter's expenditures, thus giving a measure of predictability in state planning; and provision for additional "discretionary grants" permitting flexibility according to state needs.
4. Total responsibility assumed by federal government for care of the homeless who had no state or local settlement.

Important policies later developed were:

5. After August 1, 1933, all public funds to be expended by public agencies, thus stimulating development of public welfare departments and putting an end to the anomalous subsidy system (supplement to Rules and Regulations, No. 1 [July 11, 1933]).
6. Purposes defined for which federal relief funds might be expended, such as food, fuel, shelter, household supplies, clothing, medical care. In many states, however, permission to pay rents has not been availed of; and medical care was restricted to care given in the home, so that clinics and hospitals were penalized (Rules and Regulations, No. 3 [July 11, 1933] and No. 7 [September 8, 1933]).
7. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration announced that relief would not be discontinued to families of persons in-

volved in strikes, lockouts, or industrial disputes (Release, No. 105 [July 21, 1933]).

8. "Educational Relief Program" developed giving employment to needy teachers in rural schools (Regulation E-1 [August 19, 1933]) in various adult educational projects (Regulation A-3L [September 26, 1933]) and in nursery schools (Regulation A-26 [October 23, 1933]). This program was greatly extended on February 2, 1934, to include teaching in secondary schools in small communities, and work relief to college students to enable them to remain in college (Regulations E-14 and E-15).

9. By arrangement with A.A.A., the Surplus Relief Corporation was incorporated October 4, 1933, auxiliary to F.E.R.A., to purchase and distribute to states surpluses of food and fuel; these to be distributed to persons under care of local E.R.A.'s in addition to regular relief (Regulation CO-1 [November 1, 1933]). The following categories were later added: unemployed clients of private agencies (Regulation C-5 [November 6, 1933]); federal employees on C.W.A. (Regulation CO-8 [November 17, 1933]); members of self-help organizations (Regulation Supplementing C-5 [December 11, 1933]); inmates of public and private charitable and health institutions (Regulation CO-28 [December 22, 1933]).

10. Through a grant of \$400,000,000 from P.W.A. to F.E.R.A. on November 9, 1933, a nation-wide program of Civil Works was instituted to employ four million people for about four months. Projects were to be under public management, and, together with wages and hours, to comply with P.W.A. regulations. One-half the force was to be drawn from relief rolls, one-half assigned through the National Re-employment Service, with no means test applied. The total wage bill was to be paid from federal funds, material costs to be met, as far as possible, from state and local funds (executive order of the President [November 7, 1933] and C.W.A. Rules and Regulations, No. 1 [November 15, 1933]).

Subsequent developments were:

a) A much larger proportion was assigned from relief rolls, with consequent disappointment to those who applied through

N.R.S., and a flood of applications to relief centers in hope of getting work.

b) Development of Civil Works Service to give employment on projects not acceptable under the Public Works Act. Separate wage scales were established, and wages and materials paid for from federal-state-local relief funds. A modified means test was applied, with co-operation from labor unions and professional organizations in establishing need (C.W.A. Rules and Regulations, No. 10 [December 2, 1933]).

c) Discovery in January that funds were being rapidly exhausted, and transfer of \$82,000,000 from relief to C.W.A. funds. Telegraphic orders from the federal emergency relief administrator on January 18, that no additional persons could be assigned to Civil Works, and that hours and wages must be cut. Demobilization was to begin February 15 and be completed by April 30. Further instructions were given on February 17 imposing reduced quotas to April 30.

d) Telegraphic instructions on February 28 that the entire C.W.A. program must be concluded on March 31.

11. The Federal Emergency Relief Act was amended February 15, 1934:

a) To appropriate \$950,000,000 to continue the Civil Works program and carry out the purposes of the Federal Emergency Relief Act. (By executive order of the President the same date, \$500,000,000 of this sum was allocated to relief needs up to June 30, 1935, leaving \$450,000,000 to be applied to concluding the C.W.A. program.)

b) To permit the federal emergency relief administrator to make grants within a state directly to such public agency as he may designate.

c) To remove C.W.A. employees from the provisions of the Federal Workmen's Compensation Act, and establish a new scale of compensation for injuries, which was made retroactive.

12. The "Three-Point Program," announced by the President on February 28, 1934, provided for:

a) A "Rural Rehabilitation Program" in towns under five thousand and in the open country, with complete cessation on

April 1 of both home relief and Civil Works. All case records were to be closed; and those reapplying because unable to maintain themselves were to be given interim relief in kind, for which they would do work in return on local public projects provided. Persons without access to land were to be supplied with small farm areas, including house and outbuildings, on leasehold or time-purchase basis, and were to be furnished seeds, tools, some domestic animals and poultry, for which they would return work to the value of the capital goods advanced. Relief was to be furnished only until they could get gardens started and become self-sustaining. Farming on a commercial scale was not contemplated; and any cash income must be secured by the farmer in ways not specified, the object being to eliminate him and his dependents equally from the labor market and the relief rolls (elaborated in Regulations RD-1 [March 22, 1934] and RD-2 [April 2, 1934]).

b) A "Stranded Population Program" for depressed rural and urban industrial areas. Under this program, which has not been greatly elucidated, entire populations in areas with closed-down industries were either to be rehabilitated through the introduction of new industries or to be removed entirely to other regions where agricultural or industrial opportunities or both would be created for them.

c) A "Works Division Program" for all urban industrial areas. This program, which was elaborated in Regulation WD-1 (March 19, 1934), differs from Civil Works in the following ways:

First, the workers are no longer federal employees. State administrations are the ultimately responsible employers; there is to be no slackening in the pressure to secure state and local participation in financing the program, but even where the funds are 100 per cent federal, they will go to the state E.R.A. (or, under the amended Act, to whatever public body within the state the federal emergency relief administrator may designate) and be expended as state funds. Workers will no longer be eligible for federal workmen's compensation, nor may any part of

the funds granted by the federal government be used to pay premiums for compensation insurance. The state E.R.A.'s are adjured to provide such insurance from their own funds, but this is not mandatory, although the safety departments developed as part of the C.W.A. are ordered to be continued by the states.

Second, all assignments are to be made because of ascertained need of relief. Determination of eligibility for relief of professional, technical, and skilled workers may be made in co-operation with professional and labor organizations, as was the case under Civil Works Service. Only one person in a family may be employed.

Third, there are important changes in the kind of work permitted. Uncompleted state Civil Works' projects may be transferred to the Works Division, but federal and emergency educational projects are to be continued until further notice as Civil Works. A classification of possible projects, with a tentative division of workers to be employed, has been issued by the new Division (Regulation WD-3 [March 30, 1934]). It emphasizes first the need for preliminary planning, and advises that 3 per cent of the workers, chosen from engineers, statisticians, economists, architects, industrial engineers, and planners, etc., be continuously employed in devising new projects. This lesson from the hasty beginnings of C.W.A. has been well learned.

It is advised that another 30 per cent be employed on a variety of public construction and improvement projects; that 15 per cent, subject to extension, be employed in housing projects, and lesser percentages in the supplementation of public welfare, health, recreation, and education, and in the arts and research. These are all activities familiar under Civil Works. A new recommendation was, however, that 15 per cent of the workers might well be used "in the production of goods for persons in need, such as clothing, food, household furnishings, and garden produce. Where it is advantageous, the Federal Surplus Relief Corporation will continue to be used to buy or exchange supplies and products. (This falls into two types of management:

(a) Direct operation by Works Divisions, and (b) Co-operative and Self-Help Associations.)”

Fourth, wages, while still paid in cash, are to be determined for each occupation in each locality by a wage board set up by the local administrator, on which labor, business, and the local E.R.A. are to be equally represented. No wage shall be less than thirty cents an hour. The hours worked shall not exceed twenty-four a week, but time lost for “conditions beyond the control of the employee” may be made up. When working, the employee must receive not less than fifty-four hours in any one month,¹ nor less than three days in any one week; but continuous employment the year round is to be avoided. Each person who fails to leave the Works Division rolls through obtaining regular employment can count on no more than six months’ relief employment in the year. (At the thirty-cent minimum, his annual earned income from this source would thus range between \$97 and \$187, depending on his estimated budgetary needs while working.) These wages may be supplemented by direct relief during the working period, and it is expressly stated that when laid off for any cause, and unable to find regular work, the employee shall be eligible for direct relief.

13. On May 15, 1934, the President requested Congress to appropriate an additional \$1,322,000,000 for relief and recovery purposes up to June 30, 1935. Of this sum, \$96,095,000 was for items for which commitments have already been made, leaving an uncommitted balance of \$1,225,905,000. The President has indicated that he expects to spend \$285,000,000 of this for C.C.C., leaving \$940,905,000 for public works and relief. He has designated six specific P.W. projects which would use \$228,325,000 of this balance, leaving \$712,580,000 for F.E.R.A. relief and possibly some further P.W.A. allotments. It is not clear at the moment just how much of this amount the President expects to reserve for the F.E.R.A.; although one of the metropolitan dailies calculates that it is something over \$500,000,000. Since there was an equal amount standing to the credit of the

¹ Amended on April 13 to a minimum of eighteen hours in any one month.

F.E.R.A. on April 1, it appears reasonably certain that if the President's request goes through unchanged, the F.E.R.A. will be able to count on a round billion dollars to extend from April 1, 1934, to the end of June, 1935. Should this sum be exhausted before the end of the fiscal year, Congress will then be in session to deal with any emergency which may arise.

WHAT DO THE FIGURES SHOW?

The reports of the F.E.R.A., which now cover nine of the eleven months which the administration has completed, furnish the first comprehensive statistical material about public relief in this country. Prior to this we had only sampling studies confined to the cities, and guesses as to how those indices applied in towns and rural regions which caused estimates to total relief expenditures to vary by a half-billion dollars for a single year.

In May, 1933, there were, in Continental United States of America, 4,252,000 families on public relief, with no report as to how many of these were single individuals. Six months later the number had dropped to 3,015,000, with 436,000 single persons in addition. The total of persons receiving relief in October was 13,618,000. If we take the arbitrary figure of 1.5² employable persons per unemployed family, and assume only two-thirds of the single persons to be employable, we should arrive at 4,813,500 among those on relief who would be counted among the number actually unemployed. This may be too high, depending on how, where, and by whom the employability line is drawn; but analysis of the census of families on relief taken by the F.E.R.A. last October tends to confirm the estimate, and indicates that at any rate it is not too low. The American Federation of Labor's estimate of unemployment this same month was 10,122,000. It seems a safe conclusion that in spite of the long four-year pull, less than half the unemployed were to be found on relief rolls last October.

Then came November and Civil Works. By the end of the

² The 1930 census gives 1.8 workers per family for the country as a whole, but studies of families on relief show a somewhat lower percentage of employables. Ellery Reed gives 1.5 per family in a recent study of Ohio families on relief.

month, 1,471,000 persons with their dependents had been transferred from relief rolls to the new projects, but since they received relief for part of the month, they were counted in both places, and there was no reduction in the number on relief, but rather an increase of 344,000 families. This was due partly to seasonal increase, and partly, no doubt, to the belief that application for relief might hasten assignment to Civil Works. Not until December did Civil Works, which by the end of the month was employing about 3,463,000, cause an actual drop of 733,000 families, over those carried in November on home and work relief. This downward trend continued for the first half of January, but the last half, during which Civil Works passed its peak of 4,075,000 workers, almost wiped out the month's gains in reducing relief; and by February, with Civil Works demobilization beginning in earnest, the relief load increased by 115,000 families, or practically back to the December figure.

During the sharp and accelerated decline of C.W.A. in March, relief continued to climb upward, the figures for that month being about the same as for October. The preliminary announcement of 4,700,000 families on relief for April appears now to have been overestimated, however. Returns from 140 cities indicate a 38 per cent increase over March. If this is typical of the country as a whole, the April figure should be only about 4,150,000 families and some 600,000 single persons—a total somewhat below the figures for the same period of 1933.

Even this revised figure means, however, that we are left, after a winter when business activity has slowly advanced, and after the wage income of the country was increased by about \$736,000,000 through Civil Works, with a residuary situation showing scarcely any improvement, as far as relief is concerned, over a year ago. To quote again from the American Federation of Labor as our only source of careful estimates of total unemployment, there were 13,689,000 unemployed in March of 1933, and still 10,905,000 at the end of March of this year, after a half million had been re-employed by industry and agriculture during the month.

Applying the same calculations to our April estimates that we did to October's figures, we would find that 6,625,000 employable persons, or about 60 per cent of the estimated unemployed on April 1, may be expected to appear in April's relief rolls. If these figures hold good, the difference between 50 per cent of the unemployed in October and 60 per cent in May receiving relief is a startling one. Nor is it entirely to be ascribed to prompt applications for relief by laid-off C.W.A. workers. Of 570,000 applications reported in March from thirty-one states, 60 per cent were from former relief recipients, 10 per cent from laid-off C.W.A. employees who had never received relief, and 30 per cent from totally new families who had received neither relief nor C.W.A. employment.

It must be remembered that for each Civil Works job open to the non-relief contingent of the unemployed, there were several applicants, some of whom were doomed to disappointment. The exhaustion of their resources, and of the generosity of their relatives and friends, was doubtless strongly reinforced by their sense of injustice and frustration when denied a job on Civil Works. The government would not permit them to earn their bread honestly? Very well, then it had to feed them, anyway! The net psychological effect on those who failed to benefit by Civil Works might thus be a greatly increased demand for relief.

In the attempt to find out what proportion of the relief load was being carried in May as work relief, a telegraphic inquiry was made of state directors on May 9 and forty replies secured.

Eleven states reported between 20 and 30 per cent on work relief, and five between 30 and 40 per cent. Ten ranged from "very little" to 20 per cent. Of fourteen states reporting over 40 per cent, two said that all federal funds received were being spent only for employables on work relief or a work-for-relief basis.

Of the large industrial states of Illinois, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, only New York reported as much as 45 per cent on work relief. Michigan, with 29 per cent, and New Jersey, with 15 per cent, expected to make

immediate increases in the work proportion; the others indicated that no increases were hoped for in the immediate future. Massachusetts, which should appear in this group, was unable to submit comparable figures.

The agricultural South, under the "Rural Rehabilitation Program," has or will shortly have well over 50 per cent on work-for-relief. The picture in the agricultural Middle West is confused by the drought emergency.

The hindrances given in Table I to more rapid or complete development of a work-relief program were mentioned (most

TABLE I

Administrative difficulties:	
Setting up an organization.....	3
Investigation and allocation.....	2
Approving projects.....	7
Wage difficulties.....	3
Lack of skilled workers under new rulings.....	2
Workmen's compensation difficulties.....	5
Local unwillingness to furnish materials, etc.....	5
Lack of funds:	
Stated.....	9
Implied.....	3
Weather.....	1

replies mentioned more than one problem). Thirteen states reported, however, that they had experienced no delay in the cut-over from Civil Works to Work Division.

In the entire group of forty states replying, fifteen seemed to have good prospects of immediate and substantial increase in the proportions of people at work. Five of these were just beginning to get under way, with but 5-10 per cent at work, but with heavy increases reported from week to week. Four who were already employing 60 per cent or over planned to increase in the near future to 75 or 80 per cent. Nine states expected to make no increase, all but one of these expressing the feeling that the need for relief work was covered in their states, while three more who did not answer this question implied by their high percentages on work relief that this was the case. Nine ex-

pressed desire to increase, but doubted their ability to do so because of lack of funds, while three anticipated having to decrease for the same reason. One state, with but 10 per cent on work relief, replied, "Further plans indefinite."

Up to this point we have been dealing with numbers of people. What do the figures show as to expenditure of funds?

When F.E.R.A. took over the work in May, the \$300,000,000 appropriated the previous year to the R.F.C. was exhausted. The first F.E.R.A. grants went out on May 22, and by the end of the year, total relief commitments, from June to December inclusive, had been \$437,815,000, an average of \$62,545,000 a month, in the proportions of federal, 60 per cent; state, 18.5 per cent; and local, 21.5 per cent.

Grants to states included, in addition to sums for home and work relief, further sums for the purchase of surplus commodities, for the maintenance of transients, for emergency educational program and student aid, for wages under the C.W.S. division of C.W.A., and for grants to self-help organizations. Not included in the foregoing total are sums for administration and for relief in our insular and territorial possessions. Without recapitulating these amounts to the point of tediousness, it is sufficient to say that of its original \$500,000,000, F.E.R.A. brought over into the new year only about \$175,000,000, not including, of course, the money it had received for C.W.A.

Total relief expenditures dropped to \$52,900,000 in January, but the total grants made that month out of federal relief funds amounted to the staggering sum of \$133,155,000, since the C.W.A.'s \$400,000,000 had been exhausted, and \$82,750,000 had to be transferred to it the last of January to meet the early February pay-rolls. This left only about \$42,000,000 in the relief pocket of F.E.R.A. with which to face the mounting needs of February. That sum, as well as the replenished C.W.A. fund, was practically exhausted by February 15, when an additional appropriation of \$950,000,000 was made available for relief and for the demobilization of Civil Works.

Expenditures from the new fund for Civil Works wages, from

February 15 to March 31, took over \$250,000,000, and bills for materials, truck hire, and workmen's compensation funds, which had not been paid during the shortage of funds, took another \$100,000,000.

Relief grants to states and for other purposes to the end of March took \$51,000,000 of the new fund, the total relief commitments from federal-state local funds for March being \$69,000,000. The second quarter of 1934 thus opened with a relief load higher than at any time since the present administration took office, with state and local moneys increasingly hard to come by, and with perhaps \$550,000,000 of uncommitted relief funds in hand.

Figures are not yet available for the combined relief commitments for April, but it is possible to make a partial estimate of the portion which will come out of federal sources, from the daily F.E.R.A. releases concerning grants made. (These figures are always subject to revision upward in the final report.) Grants in April totaled over \$77,000,000, although the average figure for the preceding six months was but \$45,000,000. During the first eleven days of May, grants were made totaling another \$44,000,000. If relief expenditures from federal funds should have to be continued at any such rate, it is obvious that present funds would be exhausted before next winter is fairly begun. The necessity of further appropriations by Congress in accordance with the President's message of May 15 is thus clearly established.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Up to the announcement in January of the impending cessation of Civil Works, the profession of social work was enthusiastic in its support of F.E.R.A. policies. From that time on, however, we have found ourselves less and less in accord with the retreat from a program of recovery into a position considerably in the rear of even adequate relief. With regard to the program as outlined in March and April, we should like to register our discontent and make several positive recommendations.

1. We would stress the undesirability of a rigid separation between the relief program in the country and in the city. Not all dwellers in rural regions are agriculturalists, and the attempt to put all persons who happen to live there into raising their own food on a sink-or-swim basis will be attended with many individual catastrophes. We deplore the return to work for relief-in-kind in rural regions, and urge that cash wages be paid for any work done, not only because we believe in the superiority of cash relief generally, but because these families, while raising part of their own necessities, will need some cash income to cover what they cannot themselves make or grow. A plan for rural rehabilitation should envisage permitting the small farmer to become again a consumer of manufactured goods, and not condemn him to a primitive existence, divorced completely from the benefits of belonging to an era of mechanical development.

2. While the "Stranded Populations Program" has not been fully developed, the term "removal of stranded populations," which has frequently been used, gives us concern. As far as this program deals with bettering the economic and social conditions of people where they are, or of assisting on an individual basis the removal of persons who desire to leave their present habitat, we are in sympathy with it. We recognize that successive migrations of settlers in large groups is no new thing in the history of this country; but those migrations were in the first place made to new and unsettled regions and, in the second place, they were entirely voluntary. There is now no unsettled frontier and no vast popular urge to migrate animating the spirit of our people.

We should look with considerable misgiving, therefore, on a program of wholesale removal of populations from one area to another with which they are not familiar. The virtue of the subsistence-homesteads movement, as we have seen it, is that it has been small and experimental enough to permit a high degree of hand-picking among people who volunteer for the opportunity. We believe it would be better to carry people on relief during a period of preparation for such a sweeping change, assisting them to remove gradually and individually as opportunity

offers, than to move whole communities *en masse*, even to more favorable situations. In the present chaotic condition of our settlement laws, transfers of economic refugees from one state or local jurisdiction to another will cause difficulties with local officials, and perhaps result in the transferred families losing what little security a claim of legal settlement now gives.

People undermined in health and morale by long deprivation need the most careful and individualized instruction and supervision if they are to avail themselves successfully of new opportunities which nevertheless call for vigor and enthusiasm to develop. The farmer who is used to the vagaries of his own poor soil can often do better with it than with richer land and crops which he does not understand. The stranded coal miner cannot be turned by a wave of the wand of opportunity into a successful farmer or mill operative. Our recommendation as to stranded populations would be to "go slow"; be sure that there is not the possibility of developing better living and working conditions on the spot; build up depleted strength of body and mind by an adequate health and relief program which includes work relief and vocational retraining; develop by adult educational methods a capacity to attempt a new life; draw freely on the resources and techniques of social work, home economics, and farm-demonstration work to prepare people for the change; let their own representatives look the proposed home over in the light of this new knowledge; give them time to talk over and accept the new ideas and make their own plans; be sure they understand both possible advantages to be gained and possible dangers to be overcome and fully comprehend the terms offered—and then accept only volunteers, and not all of them that offer.

We note in recent speeches by representatives of government that considerations similar to those just stated are arising in their own minds, and we hope that this may result in some reconsideration of the program as it appears on paper.

3. We would urge that the F.E.R.A. regard as a continuous responsibility, as long as our settlement laws remain un-

amended, the care of persons and families who have no local or state legal residence. We believe that the development of the F.E.R.A.'s Division of Transient Activities, meritorious though it has been, needs to be modified in several particulars:

a) Medical care, including hospitalization, should be paid for out of federal funds where it cannot be provided in federally supported and controlled institutions.

b) The majority of the transient homeless do not need custodial care, and would be helped in their readjustment to normal living if they could be domiciled, as are other single workers, in furnished rooms or boarding-houses. We urge that congregate shelters be retained only for those for whom some degree of supervision is necessary or desirable.

c) We see no reason, however, why transient homeless persons must be maintained on direct relief; and recommend a work program providing cash wages sufficient to permit these persons to pay their own board and choose their own living accommodations.

d) If, nevertheless, congregate shelter must be for the present the only type of care offered, we would protest against the attitude, apparent in many communities, of regarding the shelter as a depository for unwanted labor, where people can be cared for cheaply and kept from competing for jobs; or of placing such shelters remote from cities, conveniently out of sight of the citizens, it is true, but with no opportunity for the transients to make normal contacts or improve their situation through their own efforts. Even in the congregate shelter, we believe that opportunities can and should be provided, for employment and vocational retraining, to restore work habits and revive initiative and self-confidence to the point where transients gain both the ability and the desire to return to normal life and recover ties with relatives and friends. In such a camp, people are encouraged to work out for themselves other plans than an indeterminate stay in a single shelter, or aimless wandering about in search of the one that offers the most privileges for the least effort.

We believe that every homeless person sheltered by the government should have the opportunity, previously denied him by his transiency itself, of building himself up so that he can recover an individual place of abode and compete on the basis of his comparative ability with others on the labor market. Outlets seem as necessary to us as intake, if the care of the homeless is to be a genuine part of a recovery program; and an important aid to such outlets should be a close working relationship between centers for transients and the United States Employment Service.

4. Although the giving of home relief in cash is now permitted by the F.E.R.A., we should like to see it more actively stimulated by that body. We should further like to see more positive policies adopted in placing home relief on a basis of true budgetary deficiency, and including in the budget a normal allowance for rent.

5. We should like to see the efforts of the F.E.R.A. extended, through increased facilities for supervision in the field staff and at headquarters, toward the promulgation of better standards of case work and of personnel, with more attention to training and staff development in state and local E.R.A.'s. In all these directions progress will be made only if the F.E.R.A. is able to exert continuing and effective leadership.

6. We recognize the great burden laid upon medical and child-caring agencies by the increase in people dependent upon governmental sources for relief, and feel that some plan may eventually have to be worked out to assist states and localities to carry these burdens. For the present, however, we feel that the relief task itself should be the main objective of the F.E.R.A., and that not until relief is more adequately and uniformly administered for the purposes already authorized should the federal government turn its attention to improving the general social and health resources of individual communities.

7. With respect to the Work Division proposed for urban regions, we are encouraged to know that cash wages are to be paid

throughout, and payment in groceries no longer permitted in the cities and towns.

We note also that the types of work which are to be encouraged under the Work Division include the production of consumption goods, such as food, clothing, shoes, and furniture, by the unemployed workers for the use of the unemployed themselves. The further suggestion is made that existing co-operative self-help associations can be drawn in to play a part in the development of such projects; and that the Surplus Relief Corporation can be used as a channel through which raw materials can be purchased and distribution arranged for. We see great possibilities in the development of this industrial type of work relief, and hope that it will be energetically furthered by the F.E.R.A.

With these two exceptions, however, we can see little improvement in the Work Division over work relief in its least admirable forms. Specifically, we would make the following recommendations:

a) The F.E.R.A. should abrogate the provision that a worker must be laid off at the end of the six months' relief employment.

b) The F.E.R.A. should abrogate the twenty-four-hour weekly maximum, and adjust working-days in the week in accordance with relief needs.³

c) The F.E.R.A. should demand of the states that all relief workers be covered by regular workmen's compensation insurance.

d) It seems to us important that the extension of the United States Employment Service through the N.R.S. be continued, and be operated in close conjunction with the F.E.R.A. All applicants for relief work should also be registered for regular work through the U.S.E.S.

e) In the relief of the unemployed, we believe that the applicant's own signed statement as to his resources and dependents should be accepted as evidence of need, and any investigation

³ Concurred in by all but one member.

should be confined to the situation in the applicant's own household, and not extended through collateral visits to relatives, employers, etc. We agree in the proviso that but one person in the household should generally be employed on relief work, but when the employment of one member will not meet the family's budgetary deficit and there is another member able to work, we think it preferable that the two be assigned to relief work rather than that the family of a worker be forced to accept supplementary direct relief.

f) We believe that no one should be coerced to join the Works Division through the threat of withholding of direct relief as an alternative; that direct relief, with the possibility of work-for-relief as a disciplinary measure, but on quite other projects, should be the community's method of dealing with those unwilling to work, or those discharged for misconduct or inefficiency from the Work Division; and that we should at once set about the development of sheltered workshops and self-supporting labor colonies, on a relief, not a wages, basis, for people handicapped in body or mind, but anxious and willing to work.

8. We should like to see substituted for the Work Division, however, a work program broad and diversified enough to provide reasonably suitable jobs at all times for all employable people who cannot find regular employment, and who are unable to maintain themselves otherwise. We should like to see wages and hours so adjusted, in compliance with N.R.A. standards, as to produce cash earnings which will provide a minimum subsistence without supplementary home relief. We believe that it is within the competence of this nation to provide such work opportunities, and within its power to pay the bill.⁴ We believe that acceptance of the work offered is in itself a considerable guaranty against exploitation by the applicants; and that the value to the community of the work done (which it is within the community's power to assure) obviates the need of a "means test" as usually conceived.

9. We should like to see further discussion of the proposal to

⁴ Concurred in by all but one member.

divorce the administration of relief work from the provision of home relief, by placing it under a separate division of government. Suitable auspices might be found under the P.W.A., or as in Germany, under the Federal Employment Service.

10. In making these recommendations, we visualize a future in which large numbers of people are going to be quite permanently barred from participation in the ordinary processes of industry; in which the chance to work at all will be a precious opportunity, eagerly sought after; and in which the agencies of government will have to exercise imagination and ingenuity as never before to develop worth-while tasks in the public service to use the powers which the machine has ousted from employment. The direction taken by Civil Works, and particularly by Civil Works Service, seems to us to point in the direction we need to go for many years to come.

[SIGNED] J. C. COLCORD, *Chairman*

ALLEN T. BURNS

C. C. CARSTENS

FRED I. DANIELS

ALMA HAUPT

DOROTHY C. KAHN

RUSSELL H. KURTZ

BERTHA McCALL

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HENRIETTA ROELOFS

LINTON B. SWIFT, *ex officio*

WALTER WEST, *ex officio*

MAINTENANCE OF MENTAL AND PHYSICAL HEALTH

*Kendall Emerson, M.D., Managing Director,
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MAINTENANCE of the people's health is a matter of long-time planning. During a depression or a Mississippi flood it becomes an emergency problem to be met by extraordinary methods involving a high ratio of relief. From such forced draft procedures much can be learned to guide us in developing an effective and economical plan for normal conditions. But we must avoid the error of assuming that successful emergency procedures are necessarily wise permanent policies.

This discussion must search out the effect of the depression on the two groups involved in a health program: donors and recipients. The donors include private physicians, the public health service, dentists, nurses, and a growing group of medical-social workers especially in the hospital and psychiatric fields. The recipients are the members of that great body known as the "general public."

The effect of the depression on professional people has not been without its significance. One need not pause to mention pocket-books or lost savings, but pass at once to the less tangible but far deeper influences that have been at work on character, understanding, sympathy, and ideals. Some of the blitheness has gone out of life; the feeling of security has been sadly shaken. But instead has come a sense of sobering reality which cannot fail to affect for the better both their mental and their practical attitudes toward their social responsibilities. Even those few who have not themselves suffered severely have seen too poignant a picture of the grim specter abroad in the land to miss its meaning.

What have these years done to the practicing physician? The first effect was to excite a feeling of unrest and questioning followed by a critical analysis of his situation. Anxiety breeds phobias, and we soon saw the bogey of state medicine take powerful hold of the medical mind. That hysteria is passing, though carefully nurtured still in the high places of organized medicine. Today thoughtful physicians are losing their dread of possible change in established traditions and are ceasing to shudder at the words "New Deal." A single striking instance will suffice to illustrate this point. During the past month the Michigan State Medical Society debated and passed a resolution putting the organization on record as favoring the introduction of health insurance. This is tantamount to admitting its belief in some form of group practice and is in direct contrast to the principle of rugged individualism hitherto advocated by organized medicine. With this entering wedge I am moved to express the opinion, wholly personal, that the rumble of tumbrils is already audible in the high councils of organized medicine, and that the knitting women may soon again be adding up their grim score as heads begin to fall into the basket beside the guillotine.

Dr. J. M. T. Finney said in a recent speech: "Physicians and surgeons should exert their moral force by actively interesting themselves in municipal, state, national, and international affairs, not casting precedent entirely to the winds, but, on the other hand, not so firmly bound by it as to prevent them from taking their proper place in society and accepting and discharging their full share of the responsibilities of citizenship." These words encounter an unaccustomed receptivity in the minds of a profession which has suffered severely during the past few years and is now engaged upon the task of thinking its way out of its dilemma. As a result the post-depression period will rediscover the doctor as a citizen, a position of honor once held with distinction by the family practitioner.

What of the public health service? From a period of rapid expansion and growing budgets it found itself abruptly faced with reduced appropriations and under the necessity of trimming its

sails to light and variable airs. For the most part this was a calamity, but like many such it had an ameliorating feature. The need for economy compelled closest scrutiny of its activities. Was it engaging in activities somewhat beyond its reasonable scope? What were the essentials of an adequate public health service? These questions are being answered in the stern laboratory of necessity. Potential good may result if the lessons are well learned.

First, the public health official cut his salaries and reduced his personnel. Next, close study revealed certain phases of his work that were either obsolete or dispensable and they were lopped off. Then he sought help from other sources in the community—the doctors, the nurses, the schools, industry, the volunteer health and social agencies—some of them capable of supplementing the work of his dwindling department.

The end of the depression will, please God, see the restoration to a large extent of health budgets. But we may count on certain of the depression expedients becoming accepted practice in the future, particularly the distribution of functions in such manner as to insure economy of operation and the prevention of overlapping. Just how far moneys now emanating from the federal government for public health purposes will continue is unknown. Discussion of that question remains for consideration when the long-time plan shall be considered.

What has the depression done to the nursing profession? Let me quote freely from the words of Miss Alma Haupt, associate director of the National Organization for Public Health Nursing. She says:

Public health nursing has been affected chiefly by two aspects of the Federal Relief Program. The first was the provision for bedside care for unemployed families on relief. The second was the giving of employment to unemployed nurses made possible under the Civil Works Program. The provision of bedside care of the unemployed in their own homes marks a milestone in the history of public health nursing. The government has included this as a part of medical care to those on relief and as such entitled to support through relief funds. An important part of the program was the utilization of existing public health nursing organizations for this service instead of setting up a new federal agency.

The Civil Works Program to give employment to idle nurses has been eminently successful. Of 8,000 nurses out of work 6,000 have been used in civil works projects. In forty states this program was actively promoted by State Nursing organizations under the guidance of the national agencies which strove to maintain proper standards of work.

The impact of the Civil Works Program on public health nursing will be felt long after Civil Works has faded out of the picture. The public taste has been educated to appreciate the value of nursing in all three categories, private duty, institutional and public health. Significant progress has been made in the sorting of nurses themselves and their assignment to the categories to which they were best adapted. Above all else the opportunity has been afforded to prove the outstanding value of the supervisory function in adapting and administering a generalized nursing program. Finally, public health nursing itself has encountered a vastly broadened field in a brief space of time which will result in deeper interest in that branch of work on the part of the entire profession and will lead to its certain increase in effective numbers.

Miss Haupt's appraisal of the effect on the profession of public health nursing is the more valuable because of her intimate direction of the nation-wide plan for the properly supervised employment of nurses in the fields for which they were specially equipped. I heartily agree with her that the momentum abruptly achieved will remain as a permanent stimulus to the ever widening use of the nurse as the very foundation upon which successful public health operation is laid.

Effect on dental profession and medical-social workers.—We can refer to this only briefly. In the case of the former the nutritional problems as revealed by the condition of bones and teeth are destined to demand added service. Careful studies are at present going forward under their direction and the place of the dentist in public health, not adequately recognized up to the present, is most certain to be one of prominence and I believe distinction in the recovery program. The same must most surely be true of the social worker trained in some phase of medical work, notably psychiatry, for the mental scar left on the public mind by the strain of these lean years will come to light only as times improve. Likewise, the future burden of the hospital social worker is to be augmented, for the public has become more than ever hospital-minded and the habit will persist.

The changes, then, on the delivery end of the health program during the depression must be considered profound. This is true from the practical and administrative angle, but even more true from the spiritual as well. Return to old attitudes is impossible. Changes have transpired in the professional soul and their results are not easy to predict.

EFFECT OF DEPRESSION ON PUBLIC ATTITUDE

Now let us turn to the receiving end of the problem, the public, whose interest in a national health program is steadily mounting. Fifty years ago sickness was still generally considered a visitation for our sins. Superstition and fear governed the popular attitude toward health and disease. An enormous change has taken place in the public mind. At first among the more intellectual classes, but gradually by filtration through all levels, the doctrine of cause and effect has gained foothold and now widely prevails. The patient's attitude toward his physician has undergone an equal change. The latter is no longer a miracle man with life or death bottled up in his little black bag. Fortunately he is still generally looked upon as a friend, but no longer as a dictator, rather as a collaborator, a fellow-human-being with a bit more knowledge along one line than his patient but possessed of no supernatural power over the forces of darkness. This is well, for it marks an upward step in the development of popular intelligence. But it has its drawbacks since it breeds lax discipline and too much inclination on the part of the patient himself to rely upon the little medical learning which he has acquired. The ready proof of this doctrine lies in the annual bill for patent medicines in this country which nearly if not quite equals the sum of all medical fees paid to physicians. Now that is a menacing situation. It threatens any preventive medical plan at its very foundation. On early and accurate diagnosis depends the control of infectious diseases. If patients treat themselves until driven to a doctor by their lack of success, they remain too long a public menace and the control of communicable disease is retarded unnecessarily. Here either more or less medical knowledge is needed. We cannot go back. The situa-

tion merely stresses again the need for more, and still more, simple yet effective health education.

There is another aspect of the public attitude which taxes our patience and ingenuity in the extreme. When epidemics were a continuous menace, when typhoid was an annual scourge in all settled areas, when diphtheria killed its yearly thousands, then the public was in a position to appreciate the relief offered by preventive measures and to welcome payment of the bill to defray the cost of the service. Today we blame the public health service if one case of typhoid appears, but we have long since forgotten to thank it for the thousands that do not occur annually. Our parsimony has outrun our intelligence and we are grumbling over payment of the few pennies each which are needed to prolong our lives, protect our homes, and save us countless dollars in doctors' bills. An absurd situation!

Many other comments could be added on the strange behavior of the great army which we call the American people. These examples will suffice to indicate that all our difficulties do not lie within the professional groups who are on the delivery end of the anticipated health program. It is a human trait to wish to live. It is equally human to desire to live healthily. But with that wish is interwoven the almost equally universal quality, the gambling spirit, the desire to get something for nothing, or at least to buy at the bargain counter. The admonition to give yourself at least as good care as you give your automobile too often falls on deaf ears. The man who takes a chance is still the popular American hero.

How can we alter this trend? Until it is done the best health system in the world will fall far short of its potential service. A good plan of health protection and adequate care of the sick requires heavy expense for capital outlay and upkeep. Can we train America to consider the game worth the candle?

SPECIFIC PROBLEMS AGGRAVATED BY DEPRESSION

At this point it will be profitable to examine some of the specific problems which are aggravated by the depression and which will require special treatment in any recovery scheme

that may be developed, such as mental hygiene, venereal disease, tuberculosis, child health, medical care of transients, and the like. Only samplings can be taken from the broad field of public health. For the facts and suggestions presented I am indebted to my several collaborators in the various agencies dealing with the specific problem.

Menace of transients.—First of all let us examine the menace to health, both present and future, presented by our transient population. This is not new but has been enormously aggravated by the depression. The professional tramp is a phenomenon that has been with us since Civil War days. He and the gypsies have shared the doubtful honor of spreading certain infections and interfering to some degree with the effective operation of preventive measures. But the small number of these wanderers and no doubt their own experience and training have kept them from seriously endangering the welfare of the nation.

In more recent years, especially owing to automobile travel, whole families have taken to the road, not infrequently seeking in the Southwest relief for one of their number afflicted with tuberculosis. They are amateurs on the road, ill supplied with money or the training properly to care for their physical needs. The danger involved in such misdirected migration is obvious.

Then came the depression. Thousands of unemployed were driven to leave their homes, often in lame and wheezy automobiles loaded to the guards with family and household goods, and to strike out into the blue in the hope of finding work or some other relief in distant parts. To these were soon added boys and even some girls in despair of ever finding work at home, perhaps unwanted in an already overcrowded and underprivileged family, wholly unaccustomed to travel, utterly unable to care intelligently for their health, not inured to the hardships and temptations of the open road, and not rarely in an unstable state of mental desperation that boded no good for either their immediate or their remote future.

Aside from the vast and growing health problem presented by this great group of transients themselves, they have become a

very real threat to the health of the whole nation. As accumulators of infectious disease they present a ready soil; as distributors their nomadic habits assure their success. Fortunately the government has recognized this disheartening situation and some measures have already been set up to meet it as an emergency.

I quote from a letter just received from Dr. Ellen C. Potter, who has been intimately connected with this work.

In regard to the transient, it is my opinion that he, as we at present know him, is going to be a continuing problem over a very long period of years. Obviously, among transients, there will be a group which ultimately will need to be segregated under custodial care. The present trend seems to be that a large group has cut loose from its moorings because of intolerable physical conditions and because of mental and emotional conflict.

One of the primary objectives in a local community must be adequate handling of the needs of those who find themselves in extremity in the place where they are, so as to improve their physical and mental balance.

As far as our experience goes in the present handling of the problem, there is a great deal of mental hygiene work which needs to be done. In addition to that, when the men and families get on the road, and are shoved from place to place, their physical health deteriorates and those who are suffering from such diseases as tuberculosis and venereal diseases are bound to scatter those infections.

As the laws of legal settlement at present operate, none of these people after a period of twelve months are eligible for care in any given locality; therefore, it would seem logical to suppose that federal centers would need to be established or that the federal government would need to conduct a clearing bureau or service center for referable purposes arranged to compensate the local agencies for the care which they would render.

Dr. Potter points out the evident connection between health and welfare work. It is my feeling that in the case of the transient the problem is largely one of welfare and for the social worker to grapple with, calling on the medical profession for the incidental health problems involved. It will no doubt require federal co-operation indefinitely although localities should feel an increasing responsibility not only for their own homeless but also for the wanderers within their states.

Social hygiene activities.—The American Social Hygiene Association has kindly summarized the situation in that field and

from that summary I shall quote freely (Dr. Walter Clark, *The Depression in the Field of Social Hygiene*):

Of some 45 reports received from State Boards of Health at the end of 1933, at least 22 stated that social hygiene activities were much reduced if not eliminated from state health programs. That some appropriators are willing to cut social hygiene disproportionately is due to their lack of understanding of the practical essentials of the program, and sometimes to prejudice based on lack of real understanding of the widespread extent of social diseases in all groups of society. In particular, the most important phase of work suffering by the depression has been the stoppage in many states of subsidies in the form of money or drugs, to clinics treating indigents, or private physicians performing this service, especially in rural districts. This has placed the entire burden of treatment upon hospitals and private physicians except in those states where relief agencies have taken over this responsibility. Since it is estimated on the basis of good evidence that only one in nine cases of syphilis, and one in twenty-five to forty cases of gonorrhea are under treatment at all, the potential burden is great indeed.

Reports from many cities indicate a similar reduction of treatment facilities for indigents, with greatly increased demand generally reported. Inquiries in some of the cities have indicated a smaller number of persons under treatment by private physicians, but not a proportionate increase in clinics. In other words it would seem that many patients who have left private care are not being treated at all. These reports bear out the fear that untreated cases are increasing in the community. Shortage of personal funds to pay doctors, indifference and hopelessness, and in many cases lack of knowledge of the dangers of syphilis and gonorrhea, have apparently resulted in many patients stopping treatment altogether. Furthermore the greatly increased transient population assures the wider spread of these infections.

One present result of the demand for low cost medical service has been the allotment of federal funds for payment of physicians for treatment of relief cases—venereal infections being included as treatable conditions. However, a local obstructionist attitude has developed in some places against federal expenditure for this purpose, so that it is not universally in practice.

Lack of sufficient funds among many of the voluntary as well as official health agencies, especially social hygiene societies, has resulted in the slowing down of popular health education concerning the venereal diseases. It is particularly important at this time that there be no curtailment of efforts of this sort, since the public health control of syphilis and gonorrhea depends in large measure upon the avoidance of infection by the individual, or if infected, his coming for diagnosis and regular treatment at an early enough time. Early treatment of the individual saves the community the later heavy expense of institutional care for those mentally defective from syphilis, or blind or deaf from the same cause.

Future community organization for the control of the venereal diseases should ensure:

1. That every case have adequate treatment.
2. That susceptible individuals be informed of the dangers of these diseases, and the facts regarding their essential nature; persons wilfully exposing themselves to infection should know where to obtain prophylaxis in order to try to prevent the development of infection.
3. That environmental and other conditions be eliminated which are favorable to the transmission of these diseases.
4. That there is general knowledge and understanding of sex as a factor in human life, and its control, for the purpose of individual happiness and successful family life.

Mental hygiene.—In the field of mental hygiene lies perhaps the gravest health peril of all. There is no escape for any age group. Babies catch the infection of despair in their mothers' arms, toddlers become acquainted with the meaning of hunger and privation, the preschool child is denied the medical care so essential at that period to prevent the onset of developmental defects or to correct them before they have done serious harm. Vaccination and immunization are all too readily neglected amid the subsistence worries which occupy the parents' distracted minds. Aside from physical privations, thousands of school children are deprived of the privileges of education by the closing of schools, thereby adding the bad habits bred of idleness and lack of discipline to the ill effects of underprivileged living conditions. And when school days are over, just at the period of adolescence when the urge of ambition is the strongest, plans for a career are frustrated, no useful occupation can be substituted, and the inevitable reaction on the emotional balance raises ominous forebodings for the mental stability of the coming generation.

Again the social worker must rise to this almost supreme test of his ability to co-operate with and reinforce the work of the medical profession. Such unfortunates require so much more than the doctor can give, so much of human sympathy and understanding, such patience in solving their problems, such ingenuity in the substitution of recreational and diversional activities to avoid inevitable introversion, moodiness, and the development of antisocial tendencies. I know of no task so stupendous that has resulted from this unprecedented period of depression, nor one that will be more lasting. For even if employ-

ment returns, there will be many unhealed emotional scars which will continue to demand sympathetic human treatment for many years to come.

The child-health problem of the depression and after has been shown to be perhaps as much a mental as a physical one. Fortunately there is food enough for all in these United States. Difficulties of distribution and extreme poverty, however, make some malnutrition unavoidable. That this has not been more severe is due in considerable measure to our American habit of giving the child a square deal and to the focus of early attention on underfeeding as the most palpable of the constant accompaniments of hard times. In certain mining districts that have felt the pinch for a longer period, in some slum areas of the larger cities, nutritional defects are reported in increasing numbers and growing percentages of those seriously affected. It is not too late to concentrate on these foci before irreparable harm is done. Meanwhile, we must not forget that even in agricultural areas all is not well. I have just heard that 30 per cent of the families living on the supposedly rich farm lands of North Dakota are on whole or partial relief. For this, drought and locusts are responsible as well as the low price of farm products, so one sees an example here of the usual causes of misery going hand in hand with the exceptional conditions produced by economic collapse.

Effect on tuberculosis.—In concluding our short list selected from the many health problems caused or aggravated by the depression, mention must be made of the fears entertained of its long-time effect on tuberculosis, especially as that disease occurs in its childhood or first-infection aspect. Both physical and mental strain are known to have an adverse influence on the prevalence of this disease. Add to any increase in susceptibility the fact that poverty has led to much abnormal overcrowding by the doubling up of family life with the inevitably greater opportunity for contact between infected and hitherto uninfected people, only one result can be anticipated. Thus far mortality rates show little of this menace. But tuberculosis does not kill quickly. It is a slow though patient enemy. There is no epi-

demologist who does not look with apprehension on the story which the next few years may hold. Already there is evident a slowing-up of the decline in death-rate in several states. Some cities show actual increase in such rates for the past year and the first months of 1934.

Tuberculosis is a social disease. Its prevention is the responsibility of the doctor and the social worker alike. In the present emergency the heaviest load falls on the social worker. The laws of healthy living which medicine lays down as the chief mode of prevention are being upset by sterner economic laws. The manner of circumventing these latter is beyond the scope of physicians or public health departments. It lies in the hands of social workers so to employ the available resources of government and charitable agencies as to meet most effectively the needs in tuberculous families for living standards well above the subsistence level. Otherwise much ground is sure to be lost in the fight for the control of tuberculosis—ground gained painfully and through many years of effort.

FUTURE NATIONAL HEALTH PROGRAM

Thus far we have reviewed in a limited way some of the effects of the depression on both groups involved in a health program. Consideration of a future plan must take such facts into account. We are not going back to familiar situations but must plot our course from a new point of departure across unfamiliar seas. Dr. Jackson Davis points out that the Federal Relief Administration views the problem in three compartments, city health, rural health, and the health of transients (stranded populations). Any nation-wide program must take these natural divisions of the population into account.

While such subdivision must be clearly recognized in detailed application of any plan, it still remains true that the objective is the same in all, namely, adequate provision for the care and protection of the health of all the people equally, at a cost within the means of the country to provide.

What can the federal government do to bring this about? Michael Davis says, "Public health work started as an arm of the police power of the state." The following quotation from Tobey's *Public Health Law* elaborates this point:

The power to protect the health and welfare of the people is considered an inherent right, and duty of any sovereignty.

Before the Constitution of the United States was adopted, the States possessed the power of health protection, and this was one matter which was not granted to the Federal Government. Furthermore, the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution specifically states that "the powers not delegated to the United States, by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." This clause includes all those matters which come under what is known as the "police power."

While we are not aware of what future policies the federal government may adopt regarding the extension of its police power, it already possesses another instrument for affecting health activities within the states. I refer to the subsidies both financial and by assignment of personnel which it has granted to certain states for the development of approved rural health units. Through such subsidies adequate administrative standards may be established and maintained. This principle is capable of wide expansion and the persuasive effect of the judicious allocation of service and funds may well be a more effective procedure than the actual centralization of authority.

It is generally known that the President has in mind the advocacy of a more effective federal health program. Since no inkling of its projected form has as yet been given, it would be idle to speculate on its provision. It may be said, however, that leading physicians and health authorities of the country are now holding preliminary conferences in order to be prepared to give all possible assistance when the matter shall be reached in the administrative program.

I believe we may fairly conclude that whatever national program develops it will still preserve the form of state authority with correlation and unification stimulated through research in the federal service and through the wise use of subsidies in the form of expert personnel and grants-in-aid.

It is wholly unnecessary to review the now familiar revelations of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care. Very nearly enough money is spent annually in this country in the form of doctors' fees, the purchase of drugs (including patent medicines) and supplies, for hospital services, and, from taxes, for public health and the care of the chronic case, to assure adequate care to all the people in time of illness and effective health protection, were the money wisely and equably spent.

The whole argument presented in that report turns on its proof that at present we are doing a necessarily expensive job both ineffectively and wastefully. It makes the very same suggestion that we try some other way. Looked at broadly, there appear to be only two choices open, unless we prefer to persist in our present-day doldrums, which get us nowhere. Those two choices are public medicine, best illustrated by the system of state control existing in Russia; or some form of health insurance, preserving the private-practice system to some extent for those who wish it.

Public medicine thus far in America has been largely concerned with the preventive aspects of health, although it has certainly encroached to a considerable degree on the so-called "prerogatives" of the practicing physician. Experiments to extend its activities have met with marked hostility on the part of organized medicine and by no means with open arms on the part of the somewhat overindependent American citizen. Nevertheless, I have the feeling that should the depression continue until 1940, as prophesied by some pessimists, we would gradually drift along lines of least resistance until we have perfected a rather complete system of public health and private practice clearly bracketed under the label "public medicine."

Health insurance the solution.—Now since we are not ready to wait six years more for recovery, I am much more inclined to the belief that health insurance is the real answer to our request for a national health plan. Protection against the unpredictable hazards of life and death is an accepted principle of our national mores. The extension of insurance into the health field does no

violence to our social customs. Indeed, it has long prevailed among restricted organizations and labor groups. Its incomplete success may well be attributed to its limited application. Even so it cannot be said to have failed in serving a worthy purpose. No new principle is proposed. The recommendation is merely that an old one be expanded. Or to put it another way, America has reached a point in her history, owing to the present severe depression, where she finds herself maneuvered into an emergency situation reached years ago by most European countries. They accepted the mandate when fate so ordained.

It is reasonable to expect that building on the experience of other countries, America may do better than they in laying out a permanent national health program. For example, plans for health insurance abroad have provided for the most part only for the care of the sick. There are three broad elements in a national health plan—the care of the sick, preventive medicine or public health, and hospitalization. Already the American Hospital Association has approved in principle the plan of hospital insurance. This should be included in the broader program for providing funds to underwrite a triple program—care of the sick, preventive medicine, and hospitalization.

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HOW FAR CAN THE UNEMPLOYED BE REABSORBED IN INDUSTRY?

*Isador Lubin, Commissioner of Labor Statistics,
Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.*

ISADOR LUBIN, commissioner of labor statistics, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C., unable to leave his post at Washington to address a section meeting of the National Conference of Social Work devoted to a discussion of the problems of re-employment, sent this telegram in lieu of the paper he was to have read on the subject: "How Far Can the Unemployed Be Reabsorbed in Industry?" The telegram was read by Shelby B. Harrison, general director of the Russell Sage Foundation, New York City.

"A return to the production levels of 1929 by the manufacturing and non-manufacturing industries of the country cannot, in itself, absorb more than one-half of the existing unemployed. Unless such revival of the mining, manufacturing, and service industries is accompanied by an appreciable increase in employment in the fields of construction, agriculture, professional and domestic service, we are destined to find on our hands something in excess of 3,000,000 unemployed workers for whom other employment will have to be created. The manufacturing industries of the country have already reabsorbed, on a full or part-time basis, 2,000,000 of the 3,700,000 who were dropped from the pay-rolls between March, 1929, and March, 1933. Of the 4,250,000 who had been engaged in the production of consumers' goods in 1929, 1,250,000 were unemployed a year ago. Today 3,860,000 have employment in these industries, leaving the net to be reabsorbed at approximately 400,000. Indeed, one can point to an appreciable number of consumer-goods industries where the number employed last month was in excess of that for the same month in 1929.

"The cotton-goods industry employed approximately 6 per cent more people in April than in the corresponding month of 1929. The knit-goods industry had 3 per cent more employees. Similarly, the men's clothing industry and the boot-and-shoe industries were employing a larger number of workers. The woolen and worsted industry had approximately the same number of workers on its pay-roll. This was true also of the flour industry and the soap industry. The rayon industry was employing 25 per cent more persons than five years ago.

"In the durable-goods industries, employment fell from 4,500,000 in March, 1929, to 1,900,000 in March, 1933. Of this number, approximately 1,000,000 have been reabsorbed, leaving 1,500,000 still to be re-employed. Many of the durable-goods industries are today employing fewer than one-half of the number on their pay-rolls in 1929. Most of these are industries producing building material.

"In the mining and crude-petroleum industries there are still in excess of 300,000 workers, employed in 1929, who are out of employment. In the telephone and telegraph industry, 160,000 workers have not yet been taken back, and 650,000 formerly in wholesale and retail distribution have not been reabsorbed. The railroads are employing 670,000 fewer persons. The total still to be taken back if we are to return to the employment levels of 1929 is approximately 2,000,000. In short, even if the manufacturing, mining, and service industries had on their pay-rolls as many wage-earners as in 1929, the number of unemployed today would be cut down by less than 4,000,000.

"The remaining unemployed are concentrated among those formerly employed as wage-earners in building construction, on the farms, and in the professional and domestic services. To these must be added the tenant farmers who are being eliminated, and more than a half-million petty business men who have lost their means of livelihood and are now in the ranks of unemployed wage-earners. It is not reasonable to expect the reabsorption of the 1,500,000 unemployed building workers

without a definite stimulus to construction from the federal government.

"Adequate housing for the wage-earner at rentals within his means cannot return to the private investor a sufficient return on his capital. Without a marked expansion in our export of farm products, one cannot logically expect an increase in employment in agriculture. Without a marked shift in our living habits, the absorption of persons in domestic service will be limited.

"The only one of these fields in which we can logically look for an expansion in employment is in the professions. The lack of adequate health, educational, and recreational facilities is a crying need in the United States. Here, again, however, expansion cannot be expected without greatly increased expenditures on the part of government. These services do not lend themselves to the régime of private profit. Assuming that American industry as a whole will revive to the point where it employs as large a number as in 1929, and despite increases in efficiency, I see no reason to believe that this is outside the realm of probability. Provision will have to be made in the field of social services for the employment of something approaching three million additional workers. A beginning has already been made in the Civilian Conservation Corps. Continually increasing income will have to be taken from the profits of industry and through inheritance taxes for employment in fields where we are today greatly undermanned. With a modernized system of education, with recreation facilities adequate to our needs, and with a public health system which will maintain the American people in a condition in keeping with modern scientific knowledge, there will be no difficulty in reabsorbing those who cannot, during this generation, find employment in private industry."

TECHNIQUES IN READJUSTING THE UNEMPLOYED TO INDUSTRY

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Research, Chapel Hill, North Carolina*

THE chief purpose of this paper is to discuss a few of the important techniques which the writer has recently had the opportunity to observe in actual operation. It should be made perfectly clear at once that I mean the readjustment of unemployed individuals.

The most important fact to be recognized regarding unemployed persons is that they differ from one another to an almost unbelievable extent. In qualifications for work, in desire to work, or in any other traits one could name, "the unemployed" are not a single, homogeneous group, but an enormous number of individuals and groups of individuals. That type of treatment which would produce perfect readjustment for one of them might produce the greatest possible maladjustment for another.

They differ also in the limits to which training or any other treatment could ever modify them. Only slight changes could ever be made in some of them, although extensive modifications might possibly be made in the qualifications of others. Each unemployed person must be studied and readjusted as a distinct individual.

The problems involved here are still further complicated by the fact that industry itself is changing rapidly. It seems probable that the readjustments of individuals will not be to any fixed and well-defined scheme or organization of industry, but to a flexible program. Some of us are convinced that a drastic reorganization of the very purposes and ideals of industry is inevitable. The production of material things will probably become much less important in the new industrial program, while

the satisfaction of fundamental human needs will become more important. It would not be desirable, in my judgment, to spend the time and money necessary to work out effective techniques for the readjustment of human beings to an industry organized solely for the private profit of a few owners. The type of industry for which it seems desirable to work out techniques for making adjustments is the type that is organized to promote the widest possible distribution of the normal satisfactions of human wants and needs.

Normal human beings enjoy being active. While this desire to be active may sometimes be inhibited by other tendencies, especially after middle age, the average person gets real satisfaction from seeing things happen as a result of his own activity. Inactivity, unless it is a rest after exertion, is not a normal condition for a human being.

In addition to the fun of seeing things happen as a consequence of one's efforts, every normal person obtains a certain amount of satisfaction from having other persons, especially his peers, observe that he is accomplishing things. No normal human being is really satisfied to remain for any great length of time as merely "one more member of the earth's population." Much of the effort that men make in life is to attract to themselves the favorable attention and approval of other persons. The most normal source of approval from one's fellows is the excellence of the contribution one is making to the community life.

Normal social behavior may be expected from the person who is using his peculiar combination of abilities, interests, and training in rendering the community a distinctive service. Abnormal or unsocial behavior, on the other hand, develops readily in those persons who find it difficult or impossible to make their individualities felt through their work. If each person were earning a respectable living through the full use of his distinctive equipment of interests, abilities, and personality traits, he would be recognized as a citizen of real consequence in his community, and he would have little tendency to develop antisocial

behavior. If an industrial system throws its employees out of work whenever doing so promises to increase an operator's private profits, the social order which tolerates or encourages the system may justly be held responsible for the unemployment thus created and for the readjustment of the unemployed.

We may now consider more carefully the various steps involved in the adjustment of an individual worker. Expressed in its simplest terms, such an adjustment involves three steps: (1) a careful analysis of the individual's equipment of skills and characteristics, (2) an equally careful analysis of the various positions in industry to determine the requirements of each, and (3) a fitting of the individual into the position for which he seems most adequately qualified. Finding that a given human peg is "square," the discovery that there is a square occupational hole in a given factory, and the fitting of the square peg into the square hole seem to be very simple operations when stated in this brief manner, but there are endless complications as soon as one attempts to put the plan into operation with actual persons and jobs.

Men differ, one from another, in scores of different characteristics, some of which are important helps or serious hindrances in certain occupations. Unfortunately, for some of these human traits there have not been developed as yet any accurate means of measuring and recording the strength or amount possessed by a given individual. Estimates and ratings of human characteristics are notoriously unreliable. Furthermore, some traits and abilities can be increased or decreased by training, while others do not seem to be subject to significant modification by training and experience. It is not easy to make a useful analysis of the occupational qualifications of a human being. The determination of the characteristics and abilities that make for success and satisfaction in any particular job or industrial operation is quite as complex and difficult as the analysis of an individual worker.

If unemployed persons are ever to be satisfactorily adjusted in a given job, it will be necessary to determine the qualities of

well-adjusted workers on that job by means of exactly the same instruments of measurement that have been used in determining the characteristics of unemployed persons. The requirements of the job and the qualifications of the available workers must be expressed in exactly the same units. The usual job analysis is not adequate as a basis for selecting candidates for a given position, for such an analysis is in terms of what is to be done rather than in terms of the characteristics of the persons who do these things well. Even if it should happen to be recorded in connection with such analysis that the "operator must be intelligent," it is not unlikely that the best operators might, when measured by any of the usual "intelligence tests," be found to possess only an average amount of that characteristic.

Bringing together the worker and the task in which he will find personal satisfaction and make the largest possible contribution to society is an ideal toward the achievement of which both the individual and the state may work together wholeheartedly. It is an ambitious program, however, and it cannot be realized or even approximated without the expenditure of money. The research necessary to determine objectively the qualifications of successful persons in a score of the most common occupations would of itself be an expensive item.

The important question for the state and nation to decide is this, "Is it worth ten or twenty dollars to help an unemployed person to make a happy occupational adjustment?" Are we willing to pay real money to reduce the amount of unhappiness and dissatisfaction felt by those who work, or should they be left to their own devices and discontentments? It would cost as much to help one worker to plan his life-program intelligently as it costs to keep one soldier for half a month. Is it worth it?

The first technique that must be used, when this problem of human adjustments is seriously attacked, is the preparation and use of more accurate records of individuals. As sources of data for making scientific progress they are absolutely essential. In order to make a satisfactory adjustment of an individual, one must have detailed, precise, cumulative records of the indi-

vidual to be served, and equally detailed, precise records of the various positions in which individuals can be used.

The facts recorded for use in such occupational adjustments must be as objective as it is possible to obtain. It must be an easy matter for any member of the placement organization to identify precisely what each record means, even though the person who copied the record is a thousand miles away. The units in which facts are recorded must be the same in all parts of the system, and they should be so reliable that approximately the same index will be obtained, regardless of who makes the measurement or when. It is in these techniques of measuring human traits objectively that psychologists, sociologists, and statisticians have made their greatest contributions in recent years. Human abilities and interests have been subjected to objective methods of measurement, and attitudes and personality traits have been worked upon vigorously, although with somewhat less satisfactory results. All of these studies have demonstrated, however, that objective measurements are much more useful in any practical program of individual adjustment than the subjective ratings and estimates which are commonly used.

This use of objective measures is necessary in the description of job requirements as well as in the recording of an individual's qualifications. If any large placement organization is to be able to bring the worker and the job together into a permanent and happy adjustment, both worker and job must be described in the same terms and units. When objective measurements are actually made of the successful workers in an occupation, some of our most confidently made judgments regarding the requirements of the job prove to be incorrect. Most employers would insist, for example, that a good office clerk should have a stable personality and be a self-sufficient sort of person. Actual measurements, by means of the best objective tests now available, indicate that successful office clerks, whether they are employed in the offices of a meat-packing plant, a department store, a life insurance company, or a public school, are not more stable, more self-sufficient, or more aggressive than the average

young woman. In certain other qualities, however, the tests show that successful office clerks are quite different from the average person. The placement officer who hopes to make satisfactory adjustments should have the use of objective measures, not only of each applicant, but also of typical successful workers in each field.

As was suggested in a previous paragraph, the best possible criteria of adjustment to an occupation or job must be used in connection with such studies as these. When a group of three hundred graduate nurses were examined in Minnesota, it was learned that about one-tenth of them were not well adjusted to their work. In spite of the fact that they had held their jobs during a severe economic depression and in the face of a large oversupply of trained nurses, thirty-two of these nurses were not really well satisfied with their work and were rated as "poor" nurses. The two groups were just alike in mechanical ability and very similar in their personality measures, but the well-adjusted group was superior to the maladjusted group in the speed and accuracy of their clerical-test results, and decidedly superior in their physical strength and academic intelligence. It would seem from this that girls with only average physical and mental abilities should not be encouraged to enter the nursing field, if they really wish to be happy and successful.


Another technique which must be developed in order to aid in the adjustment of unemployed individuals to industry is a better classification of operations or occupations in terms of modern industrial conditions and the human characteristics required in the workers. The thousands of job titles that have been so long in use are confusing and in some cases meaningless. Essentially the same operation may have a dozen different titles, depending upon the industry or the section of the country in which it is found, while exactly the same name may be used for operations that require entirely different combinations of skills and personal characteristics in the workers. We must develop a new nomenclature of occupations, or at least a new system of notation that will assist placement officers in selecting

for a given worker a job that will enable him to be happy and successful, even though it be in an entirely different industry than he has known before.

We are indebted to the psychiatric social workers and the clinical psychologists for the development of one of the techniques that is essential to success in adjusting individuals to their work. The "clinical approach" or "case-study method" attempts to consider all of the various factors that bear upon the adjustment of the individual, and to give to each factor the weight which it should have in the light of the total human situation.

The adjustment of a particular individual to a position in which he can work happily and effectively is primarily an adventure in the art of human understanding. It involves all of the facts obtainable regarding the individual's past history and training, his present interests, ambitions, abilities, and personality traits, his future prospects, social and economic conditions in his community, employment trends in the various occupations that interest him, etc. All these facts must be weighed and balanced against each other very thoughtfully before one can arrive at a final judgment which will have great promise of bringing happiness and success to the worker concerned.

This careful consideration of all the factors in a situation may be illustrated by the case of a thirty-nine-year-old man who came to the Adjustment Service in New York City about a year ago. This man, in a period of twenty years, filled the positions of office boy, clerk, traveling salesman, attaché of the Medical Corps in France where he visited the great dressmakers' establishments in Paris whenever possible, various positions in one of the best shops in New York City, nursing all the time a strong ambition to be the buyer for the firm, and similar positions in San Francisco. Back to New York again he lost his money in a restaurant venture, became a floorwalker with a firm that failed and was out of a job for two years, which he spent mostly in trying to figure out why he had not been made



a buyer. He came to the Adjustment Service to discover what was wrong with him.

On the objective tests he revealed the interests, abilities, and personality traits of the artist rather than those of the business man. The suggestion was made that he might achieve his ambition through creative artistic channels. It was pointed out that his gentle manner and appearance were not typical of buyers, but would be no handicap in designing. Accepting the suggestion, he was within a few months independent again and happy in his work.

This case is typical in that it shows how no single technique is adequate in the solution of the problem of an individual's industrial adjustment. The mere record of the man's previous occupational experience would not have been sufficient. The record of his personal interests and ambitions was important, but it needed the confirmation of the objective tests of his interests, appreciations, and abilities to persuade him to alter his attack upon his problem. Most important of all, it was necessary that this man's counselor should bring together all of the evidence available regarding the various elements in his problem and then, in the light of all the facts, work out such a solution as would make the best possible adjustment of the man to his industrial field.

It is my belief, also, that a new emphasis and practice must be introduced into our public-school programs. The worker, who finds in middle life that the job by which he has always earned his living has disappeared, is just as much in need of training and is much more ready to benefit by training than the immature youth. The state which has fostered the technological changes that took away the man's job has a definite obligation to help him to become adjusted in some other type of work. Why should not the public schools provide at public expense such retraining of adults as is necessary in these readjustments of unemployed adults to industry?

If society is to render any really vital service in the adjust-

ment of unemployed individuals to industry, there must be a system of well-planned public employment offices, equipped with adequate records, both of the individuals and of the positions available, and manned by a competent staff of persons who look upon this work as an opportunity to render a really great service to society through assisting individuals to achieve better occupational adjustments. Selfishness, political ambition, and the like have no place in such an employment service. The techniques which I have described would all find their greatest usefulness in connection with the work of such a service. I should be willing to predict that if the public employment service can maintain its ideals of service to individuals and to the state, it will be able to play a very significant part in the adjustment of industry itself to the requirements of a new and better social order.

A YEAR OF RELIEF

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I SHALL try to discuss the Federal Emergency Relief Administration as one social worker to another, in terms of the people whom it was designed to aid. What are we doing for them? And what is the attitude of the community toward them and toward our programs?

The F.E.R.A. inherited, along with its funds, the traditional methods of handling relief. From the private agencies of social work it inherited the case-work approach, a part of which is the scientific means test. From the public agencies it inherited the public poor-law policies. Neither of these has proved adequate to the job as it relates to the social and economic necessities of the unemployed. Although the means test has been useful in sifting the self-sustaining unemployed from the destitute, the unemployed person dislikes it. Possibly this hatred is due to the fact that we lack personnel qualified to apply the case-work method. Yet it has seemed to me that, regardless of a man's feeling, so long as you cannot offer him work on the simple grounds that he is unemployed, you will be obliged to use some form of means test if you are operating with limited funds.

Generally speaking, public agencies that deal with dependents, children, and the aged have little to offer in method or procedure that is acceptable to the needy unemployed. We must remember that, legally speaking, the unemployed dependent is a new category. In law there is little to describe the man who has always earned his living and could now do so if he were given a chance. Nor is there anything to describe unemployment as a qualification for the receiving of aid. The unemployment-insurance measure passed in Wisconsin is conspicuous by its being unique. Generally the legal provisions of the states

for assisting the needy do not even contain the word "unemployment," but use such terms as "needy," "sick," "strangers in our midst," "pregnant woman," "drunkard," "vagrant," etc. It is no wonder that the man who has always earned his way cannot relish being grouped with these. We are forced to find some method of relief which will uphold him.

There are two schools of thought about the form which straight relief should take. One favors cash grants, and one favors grants in kind. Among the recipients of unemployment aid there is only one attitude. The people who are living on relief favor cash. To me their dislike of the grocery order and relief in kind is understandable. The grocery order is a complete break with their previous way of life. When it is forced upon them they feel that they are not trusted. Their self-respect is involved.

I cannot regard the projecting of nation-wide relief arrangements on a grocery order as anything but bad and undesirable. If we had thirty thousand trained and experienced family social case workers instead of the three or four thousand now in existence, we might approach the management of the affairs of these people with more confidence. But when we have to rely on people, many of them very young, whose major qualification is that they have good, ordinary intelligence and a desire to be helpful, I must say, quite frankly, that I have more confidence in what Mrs. John Smith can do with a five-dollar bill than in the plan of centralized control.

When we get into adequacy of relief we are walking on very difficult ground. Our field studies are beginning to turn up a great deal of material that relates to this subject. An adequacy study is projected. We already know something about the income levels at which people go on and off relief. We shall know before long, no doubt, to what extent relief is supplementary to insufficient wages. Relief has probably provided for families from our lowest economic levels a higher standard of living than they can secure under regular or irregular industrial and agricultural returns. This is far from saying that relief has

been adequate. On the whole we have done fairly well by food. Next to food we have done our best work in providing fuel. Clothing and shelter have, in most places, gone by the board. But such a standard cannot obtain for longer than an emergency period. So long as we take care of the unemployed destitute with relief instead of with employment, we shall have to work toward a relief budget which will keep the family from falling farther into destitution.

To a considerable part of those receiving aid it is doubtful if we have done any serious injury. Injury was done long before we got there. This is true of our chronically poor, who are habituated to living from hand to mouth. To them there has been no loss of social position or self-esteem in applying for relief. To another group, much less large, it has been a matter of getting their share. They are like the German in Wisconsin who came to the relief office and said, "I hear you got money from the government; I just came to get my share." I fear this number is growing. But for the best people we have served it has meant social tragedy. The receipt of relief has been the last stage in the crumbling process for the skilled artisans and that other body, whom, for want of a better term, we call the "white-collared" people. C.W.A. was the best thing we did for these people. Here they found an instrument of aid that was acceptable to them.

The effect upon a family which lives on relief over a long period of time is giving concern to all thoughtful people. Probably its dangers are exaggerated. Human character changes slowly. The American worker is rooted in habits of self-support, in pride of personal achievement, and in the habit of judging himself by what others think of him, whether this is good or no. It will, of course, take a good deal to change all this—especially if the majority keep on working for a living. On the other hand, there is no gainsaying that many children have been conditioned in a system of relief from infancy.

The people themselves have probably done more than the social worker to counteract these bad effects. Friends and

neighbors have shared the social losses of the unemployed. It would almost seem that this power or willingness to share losses is found in inverse proportion to the possession of wealth or social status. It is a fair statement that relatives and neighbors have borne the heaviest load of the cost of aiding the unemployed. This, of course, they cannot continue to do.

I think at this point it is perhaps well to dwell upon this much-neglected economic fact, that the biggest source of relief, that which dwells in the family connection, is exhausted. To know its implications is to be forearmed against the statement which is already beginning to be heard—that relief rolls should decrease in size. As long ago as 1897 John R. Commons in the *American Federationist* recognized the fact that in all depressions by far the greatest burden of relief is carried by the families and friends of the unemployed. We are now in the fifth year of the depression, and those natural sources of relief have been drained away. We do not have the figures on how much life insurance has lapsed, or how many mortgages have been foreclosed, how much unused day labor has vanished with the day. But we can do a little arithmetic on our own, and multiply for one-eighth of our population the successive and cumulative deprivations which have been experienced by self-reliant families within our intimate circles.

As to the attitude of the public toward the poor and toward our programs I may say quite frankly that one of the most subtle and difficult problems with which the administration has had to deal has been the attitude of the public toward what constitutes adequate relief. This should surprise no one since it is a fact of long standing that the well-to-do and those who have their share and more of the necessities of life are notoriously incurious concerning the condition of those in need. We cannot escape the painful fact that there is in America today an attitude of mind which is attempting the stratification of standards of living—the erection of one level for workers, another for professional workers, another for executives, and still another for owners and the purveyors of capital. And when anyone finds

himself without income, he is put outside these classifications and is no longer expected to have normal wants.

The historical attitude toward poverty is still more widely prevalent than is easy to believe. In the last several years the worldly demotion of previously comfortable people has opened the eyes of themselves and their intimates to the fact that poverty is contagious. But there are still responsible public officials and still sizable portions of the public who hold the opinion that the poor man is individually and morally at fault, and that in the mass poverty is as unpleasant and irremediable as bad weather.

Social workers are counseled to be realistic about poverty. The accusers' definition of a "realist" is at this point important. The realist under consideration is defined by his attitude toward money. "Are you being a realist?" someone inquires. What he is really asking is "What do you think about money?" not "What do you think about the fact that twenty millions of your countrymen are hungry, desperate, cold, sick or discouraged?" or "What do you think of the imperative necessity of giving them security and comfort?" but "What do you think of the practicability, things being as they are, of even trying to do much about it?" The man with the grievance against expanding relief rolls says, "Why not let the poor live on what they can get? They always have." Adhering to this theme are all its variations.

We must admit that from any point of view the money realist takes home the marbles, since, without money, hunger, sickness, desperation, and discouragement will continue for an eighth of our population. This is in no sense derogatory to the true realist, but a plea for a more embracing definition of realism; one that takes into account not only the question "Where is the money coming from?" but one that questions the necessity of chronic poverty.

The attitude of states and localities toward qualified personnel has provided a set of difficulties which, while serious, are not insurmountable. The resistance to fitness as the proper

basis for selection has not been the only difficulty. There has been the equally serious lack of trained and competently experienced persons. When we have been able to secure intelligent, tactful, honest, trained, and experienced social workers our troubles have all but ended. One of the major lessons of the depression, it seems to me, is that the handling of relief of the unemployed is essentially a social worker's job. That in that profession only do you secure a set of attitudes which places proper emphasis upon the essential things. Some states, where officials or public opinion formerly insisted that only persons born and brought up in the states were to be given jobs in the administration, have now fully receded from this position, and are actually asking us to bring in outside people. But other attitudes still obtain. We have the task of distributing persons with outstanding ability and technical qualifications. There is too great a concentration of good personnel in certain states and cities.

As to political obstacles to good appointments, these occur only where the political structure permeates the whole life of the state. I do not know that we have, however, any great grievance against the politicians. They have, on the whole, been very fair and decent. There are some that are rather unreasonable, but by and large they have let us administer such funds as we had. In general, I confess I have developed more respect than the contrary for them. They are straight shooters, and for the most part play with their cards face up. Above all, you have a hearing with them. This is more than you can say about powerful board members of some private agencies, or members of state and local chambers of commerce who pass the word quietly down the line that such-and-such a person is dangerous and is not to be supported.

How has the federal relief program fitted in with the generally accepted body of practices that social work has come to stand for?

As I have said, the F.E.R.A. inherited the scientific means test, budgetary relief in kind, and the public poor-relief procedure. The case-work method has been accepted and in so far

as possible—depending upon available persons and supporting public opinion—it has been used. The administrator has, however, refused to permit a system of direct relief to become the fixed and accepted method of aiding the unemployed. One of the first of his attacks against it was an experiment by which persons would work out the relief that was granted to them, and on a memorable day in August last year an order went out setting thirty cents an hour as a minimum which such people were to be paid. This was somewhat in contrast to the five and ten cents per hour that had obtained historically up to that time in all forms of relief.

Next was organized the Surplus Relief Corporation to deal with the thing about which Henry George had chided a nation—the existence of an abundance of foods and clothing side by side with destitution. The Corporation took surplus food off the market, gave it to the unemployed, and supplied millions of bushels of feed to cattle in drought-stricken areas.

Then came the expansion of the work program into Civil Works. The administrator also, from the first, has been determined upon an extensive use of research as a means both of obtaining accurate knowledge concerning the economics of unemployment and of giving relief to a group of professional workers who are capable of scientific research in this field. This is now being carried on along a wide variety of lines.

In addition to the basic relief program, there has been developed a work for the transient which is advancing. We are expanding the rural rehabilitation program and our program for the rehabilitation of stranded populations. We are dealing separately with drought and flood relief. We have evolved a six-point education program. Through these and other measures the administrator has attempted to meet the needs of the unemployed. It has been necessary to evolve a program which would meet the needs and the desires of the unemployed, the best requests of the public officials, and the procedures desirable to social workers, economists, and engineers. But it has been necessary also to stay within the money available and within the plans of National Recovery.

Looking back over the last twelve months, I think the outstanding criticisms and objections that have come to us have been (1) that we lacked a basis upon which a planned program could be projected, (2) that we have failed to develop programs of public welfare by putting funds into the states, (3) that we have permitted states to dump into the lap of the F.E.R.A. groups of persons for whom legal provisions exist, and (4) that the F.E.R.A. has failed to recognize a responsibility to special groups of needy individuals, such as children's groups and hospitals.

We have been mindful that there has been lacking a basis on which the states and counties could project plans for several months. However, with the one exception, that of the discontinuance of the C.W.A., all moves have been of an expansion character. None of these moves could the administrator have made in the beginning. It would have been perfectly possible to set up a fixed and finished system a year ago, and to have refused to change it. That would have been possible, but, from my view of the job, hardly desirable. Had this been done there would have been no C.W.A. or C.W.S. We would not now have planning commissions in practically every state. We would have no state rural rehabilitation commissions, no plans for development for stranded villages, no workers' education, no surplus-food corporation, no submarginal land-retirement fund, and above all no standard of relief, which, with all of its inadequacies, is 100 per cent higher than it was twelve months ago.

No, I have no apologies to make for the fact that we have asked our state and local administrations to remake their work to include these and other innovations. I do feel the necessity to project as far ahead as possible the money that states are going to have and to stabilize those parts of the program found good. But I fear centralization and rigidity. For my part, I choose a moving, changing program. We knew so little, and so much of that was wrong. Only by experimentation, by innovation, and by struggling away from that which we had can we hope to work out something better, something finer, and more suited to the needs of those we are trying to help—more just,

more enduring in the power it puts in these people's hands for pulling their own weight in the economic boat.

Some advocates of public welfare as a primary function of government are among our most severe critics. They feel that we are failing to realize all we might of the present opportunity to develop state and county departments of public welfare. Of course everyone is aware that the federal government can go just so far in its demands on states. This opportunity ought to be pushed to its greatest limits. But the tendency is quite the reverse. Legal provisions for the care of special types of need are going into the discard. State and county institutions are being reduced through budgetary restrictions to skeletons of their former selves. State departments are being stripped of much-needed personnel. It is a desperate situation. Closely akin to this is the development of an attitude in states and localities which allows all social dependency to be dumped on the federal government.

We know that by permitting federal funds to be used to care for the legal dependents of the state we are permitting the general tone and standards of work for the unemployed to be lowered. This heavy pull made upon federal funds acts as an undertow to drag down the entire level of benefits and the quality of the service for the unemployed. Some of us have a conviction that federal funds should be limited to an employment program of the unemployed, and that all others should be forced back upon the county, municipality, and state.

Sooner or later we must face the fact that direct relief is no answer to the unemployed. Also it is very probable that the excessive cost of relief will force the use of these people in the production of the things they and their families need. Today funds expended for relief are 100 per cent greater than they were one year ago. But that is not enough. These people must be put back into jobs—jobs within the consumption industries. What all this waits upon, however, it seems to me, is a changed attitude on the part of those who are still inside the charmed circle of the employed.

THE RURAL COMMUNITY PROGRAM OF RELIEF

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IT WILL remain for succeeding generations to write the story of the last five years, with the objectivity and balance which only a perspective gained over the years can give. Those of us living in the thick of the fray can only serve as reporters who have been given a news assignment so overwhelming that the most we can hope to do is to dash off a story occasionally, covering what we think we see and hear at the moment, but by no means presenting a complete picture of the spectacle of which we are a part.

It seems desirable to organize the material contained here under four general headings, namely: (1) "Summary of Methods in Rural Communities Prior to 1932"; (2) "Changes Resulting from Acceptance of State and Federal Funds"; (3) "Attitudes of Officials, Lay Citizens, and Clients"; (4) "Building a Long-Time Program on an Emergency Foundation."

I. SUMMARY OF METHODS IN RURAL COMMUNITIES PRIOR TO 1932

In the majority of the forty-eight states, public money available for poor-relief purposes was administered by local officials, township trustees, county poor-boards, commissioners, overseers of the poor, selectmen, etc., the official title varying with the geographical area, but the functions remaining practically the same. The exceptions, of course, were those states in which county welfare boards were not only permissible under the law but had also begun to function. In some states having such laws certain counties had organized their welfare activities on a unit basis, while in other counties of the same state the local poor-officials continued to administer such relief as was given.

In six states there were county child welfare boards, limited by legislation to child care and child protection, and not undertaking in any way a generalized welfare program.

In New Mexico,¹ California, Georgia, Iowa, and one or two other states, county welfare programs had been initiated in certain areas more or less by "gentleman's agreement," for which there was no legislative sanction. Upon the basis of available data, it appears that prior to the participation of state and federal agencies in local relief programs, about 35 per cent¹ of the United States had some form of machinery for carrying on county-wide welfare activities, but that the program was not completely operative even in the seventeen states which had made a beginning.

Because so many voluntary agencies were raising large sums of money for the support of relief agencies prior to 1930, there was not a general realization of the fact that millions of local public funds were even then being spent in the country for a variety of poor-relief purposes; that the legislative basis for such relief expenditures was in many particulars almost a replica of the Elizabethan codes regarding the care of paupers; and that these public funds were being administered by untrained elective officials.

2. CHANGES RESULTING FROM ACCEPTANCE OF STATE AND FEDERAL FUNDS

In order to secure material which would make it possible to discuss the assigned topic from a nation-wide point of view, specific inquiries addressed to relief directors and state boards of public welfare were sent to certain states which are fairly typical of larger areas. The first of these questions was: What machinery has been set up in your state in the administration of state and federal relief in rural areas?

Alabama.—In forty-eight of the sixty-seven counties of Alabama, the Alabama Relief Administration administers federal relief funds through the already organized and well-developed

¹ Mary Ruth Colby, *Social Service Review*, September, 1932.

county child welfare boards. This, particularly, is true in the rural areas. The county child welfare board by designation became the official relief agency and has continuously carried the responsibility for the relief program. The child welfare superintendent became the director of relief and functions as the chief executive for the child welfare board. The county continues to pay the major portion of the salary of this executive.

Recently, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and the American Public Welfare Association approved a co-operative plan for the Alabama Relief Administration and the State Child Welfare Department whereby local money, formerly paid toward the salary of the director of relief, may be transferred to the employment of a child welfare superintendent as a member of the staff which is presided over by the county child welfare board.

Florida.—The State Emergency Relief Administration has organized each county for administration of relief with a social service director in each unit and a regional social service staff for field service. Thus there is the possibility of demonstrating to the community the meaning of case work. Beginnings have been made in the direction of setting up a case committee on family relief and service for each local relief unit.

Ohio.—The legislation creating the State Relief Commission makes it possible for the county commissioners in each county to take over the responsibility for administration of relief with the consent of the State Relief Commission, regardless of existing poor-relief laws. When state and school funds are allocated to the county, townships which will have enough local funds to care for their relief cases can still operate independently. Eighty-seven of the eighty-eight counties in Ohio have been organized on a county basis, but in a few counties there are townships which have remained outside the fold.

The State Relief Commission deals directly with the boards of county commissioners in each county. Advisory county relief committees may be appointed and such committees must be approved by the State Relief Commission. Some of the coun-

ties have active committees whose recommendations are the basis for action by the county commissioners. Other counties have committees which merely "yes" the commissioners. In still other counties, committees appointed when the state program was begun have painlessly passed away. In some instances this has been fortunate, as the way has thus been cleared for organizing a more effective advisory group.

Pennsylvania.—Machinery set up in Pennsylvania for the administration of state and federal relief in rural areas is identically the same as that set up throughout the state. In other words, by act of the legislature in September, 1932, the State Emergency Relief Board was created. This Board had the power to establish local administrative bodies and proceeded to select a board of seven people in each county. It also attempted to select as members of these county emergency relief boards people who had shown some leadership and interest in welfare programs or community organizations; also if a county official—commissioner, director of the poor, judge—was likely to strengthen the Board, at least one public official was appointed.

During the early months, local private agencies were selected by the county boards, as the groups responsible for the actual service to relief cases, these private organizations serving as the agents of a county board. However, before very long it was realized that there must be an administrative tie-up and control, and the use of private agencies was discontinued—the full responsibility for direction, administration, financial control, and case-work service to the unemployed on relief being controlled by the county board, which is responsible only to the state.

Nebraska.—There have been set up county emergency relief committees in about seventy of the ninety-three counties in the state. These committees consist of from three to five people, appointed by the State Emergency Relief Committee. A representative of the county poor-board usually serves on this county relief committee. This committee is for advice and education of

the local public opinion. They do not determine who gets federal relief. This is done by the county relief worker, who must be approved by the state administrator. An attempt is made to have a county relief worker who is satisfactory to the county relief committee, but in the last analysis no one can write a federal relief order except one who is approved by the state administrator, and the county committee has no authority to force this county worker to grant relief.

There is a definite understanding with each county board as to just what cases the emergency relief committee shall handle and which cases shall be handled by the county. In general, we handle from federal funds unemployment relief cases, supplying food, clothing, fuel, and household supplies. In most cases the county furnishes relief for the outdoor-relief cases who are regular clients of the county and also supplies shelter allowance so far as it is supplied at all to the unemployment cases. In the majority of counties medical care of the unemployment cases is also supplied by the counties, although the relief administration is doing this in about a fifth of the counties.

New Hampshire.—The New Hampshire relief set-up calls for eleven major districts or county offices, with a county supervisor in charge. Where the case load and territory demands, suboffices are also set up under an assistant supervisor. Each office is staffed with investigators to meet the case load in so far as is possible. Each office has a certain territory to cover. In each town there is a local agent responsible to the district office. This agent has the authority to grant relief or emergency relief when called upon if, in his judgment, it seems wise. Immediately after this relief is granted a report is made to the office. Investigators cover these towns at least once a week and all new cases are discussed and investigated. The report is filed with the county supervisor, and a permanent plan and budget is decided upon. This is given to the local agent, and it is his authority to continue the aid.

New Mexico.—In each county the county unit of the State Welfare Bureau is also the county administrative unit for fed-

eral relief. In those counties where permanent units had not been organized prior to the receipt of federal relief, new set-ups were instituted. The plan for the new units was the same as for the old units, namely, county welfare associations. The aim is to have a trained social worker in charge of each of the units.

The impracticability of a state relief commission having to deal with the township trustees, selectmen, overseers of the poor etc., became immediately apparent when we were plunged into a large-scale relief-administration problem. Sheer necessity, therefore, has (1) pushed us toward the goal of county unification of welfare activities, (2) made it possible to provide social service in rural communities as a substitute for the haphazard methods of the local relief officials, and (3) through the possible participation of committees of lay persons and public officials in the emergency program, increased the opportunities for interpretation of what constitutes a socialized public welfare program.

In practically every state the relief commissions have insisted upon standards of personnel hitherto unknown in most of the rural areas of the United States. Various methods have been set up to safeguard appointments, with the result that for the first time people living in the country are being helped in their time of need with, at least, some of the skills employed by workers on the staffs of agencies of recognized standing in the metropolitan areas.

3. ATTITUDES OF OFFICIALS, LAY CITIZENS, AND CLIENTS

Good roads, telephones, telegraph systems, radios, automobiles, and airplanes have reduced the physical isolation of our rural communities to a remarkable degree. But there remains a psychological isolation from much that is accepted as a component part of the urban scene. The efficiently organized social agency and the social worker trained for her job are not utterly strange phenomena to most city officials and to relief clients. In hundreds of rural communities in this country, however, the only exposure public officials and other citizens had to organized

social work was through the medium of state departments of public welfare. In some of the states, as, for example, Mississippi and Arkansas, even this was lacking as there was practically nothing in the way of a state welfare program prior to the establishment of the emergency relief commissions.

As more people in rural communities had to ask for help and local resources became exhausted, the local officials had to turn to the state and federal governments. Then they began to run into a maze of regulations and standards which had to be accepted if necessary funds were to be forthcoming.

The impact of these procedures upon the local officials and the average citizen has produced a wide range of attitudes which will materially influence the development of the future social program in rural America.

In certain places there is no doubt but that the officials and many of the citizens feel that Washington and their state capital are bent on spending the taxpayer's money on a lot of useless machinery in order to give out "charity."

They are more concerned with winding up the relief business than they are in considering its ultimate merger with general relief and the development of a long-time program. They conform because they must have additional funds, but the organization which has been set up is not regarded in any sense as a permanent part of their governmental structure.

If anyone thinks that machine politics flourish only in urban communities, they are not familiar with the habits and customs of rural America. Officials in some of the smallest and most rural sections have, for political reasons, been antagonistic toward the consolidation of counties for administration of relief and the employment of training personnel from outside the locality. One state director of relief reports: "It is needless for me to say that the political set-up of county commissioners is very much against the present organizations for administration of relief but the local people, the selectmen and the recipients of aid, are for the most part co-operative."

The secretary of a state department of public welfare makes

this statement: "There certainly is resistance in rural areas toward the new deal in the administration of relief. This has been expressed in a resistance to the amount of relief grants which in rural areas are considered excessive. There was even more resistance to C.W.A. wage rates, which, in smaller communities, were looked upon as inimical to the employment of necessary 'help' for farms and for borough and township road work."

The director of the social service division of a state relief commission comments as follows: "While there is still resistance to the program, yet through active use of the county child welfare boards and advisory committees of various kinds, and through constant requirements that county finance boards participate financially in the program, there has spread throughout our rural communities a wider and finer understanding of the implication of a good social-work program, and the need for such a program, even though, during this emergency, it has not been possible always to do the entire job which needs to be done in any locality."

It seems fair to conclude that the attitudes of local officials responsible for finances and for poor-relief administration and of the self-supporting lay public range from firm resistance to all aspects of the relief program to that of acceptance of the policies emanating from Washington and the various state capitals; that in spite of resistance or acceptance, people in rural communities have gained some conception of a new approach toward administration of relief by persons qualified by training and experience for the task; and that even in communities where local officials appear to be living for the day when the curtain can be rung down on the current scene, it will not be so easy to revert to the predepression techniques.

The social worker who goes into a rural community which never before has had any social service except that given by elective officials and volunteers has placed upon her an unusual responsibility. The community's decision as to whether the county relief administration should be kicked out as soon as the subdivision can be freed from state and federal domination or

whether it is something to carry forward depends to a large extent upon the way in which the social worker has interpreted the program and the attitudes she has created by her own personality.

The attitudes of industrial workers in urban communities have been shaped by a variety of forces which do not operate in rural areas. Thus it is not strange that in the typically rural localities the attitude of the relief client is somewhat different from that of the city worker. It probably is also more truly what the orators of the Old Deal call "American" than that of any other group. When one comes to know some of these families, it is clear that there are values in their points of view which should be conserved as we set about the task of reshaping the social structure of this country. It is not possible to sit in an office and pick up certain nuances and overtones which are significant. To get these one must go to what is still the motivating social force of civilization—the family.

As I attempted to prepare the outline for this paper, I became convinced that somehow there should be included in it first-hand information regarding the philosophy and reactions of at least one or two of the families, for whose assistance this governmental superstructure of relief administration has been constructed. While I realized that I could draw no conclusions from such a limited experience, it seemed desirable to get into this Conference vicariously a few of the people most closely affected by what we are doing.

With the case worker from a local relief office located in one of the most rural counties of the state, I began my round of visits. The worker had been well accepted by her families, although she is an "outlander." Her explanation that I was visiting her and had come along for the ride was accepted, and I was welcomed without either suspicion or curiosity. Incidentally, of course, this attitude on the part of the families revealed the *rapprochement* existing between them and the case worker.

The story of the day spent in the homes of a number of rural

families is too long to be told here in detail, but the following summarizes the experience fairly well:

To have lived through these last five years with less than the bare necessities of life and still have the ability to find something of advantage in one's own situation; to have the will to work for what one gets in spite of the demoralization of irregular and insufficient employment; and to regard the efforts of government to meet the relief needs of the community as an expression of neighborly concern, in spite of the many mistakes which have been made—all this seems to reveal an attitude on the part of rural relief clients which holds much of promise.

Somewhere there is a balance between overready acceptance of public relief and the abject sense of shame and degradation with which many persons have come to our public agencies. As long as we remain so stupid as to assume that we can solve our economic problems by giving relief to people who want work, it would seem that perhaps in our rural areas we have the best chance of maintaining such balance, if our relief administration is sufficiently intelligent. The problem seems to be how to conserve existing wholesome attitudes in rural areas and to take advantage of them in the social planning which lies just ahead.

4. BUILDING A LONG-TIME RURAL PROGRAM ON AN EMERGENCY FOUNDATION

There is, of course, a common denominator in a public welfare program regardless of geographical differences. In a rural program, however, there must be certain differentiations both in philosophy and in procedures if the social mechanisms to be set up are going to accomplish anything.

I should like to get into the record what I believe to be a few significant notes based upon the social experiments carried on in forty-eight state laboratories during the last three years. These are as follows:

A welfare program in a rural community must become indigenous if it is to withstand the storms which are bound to

overtake it. Unless the emergency relief administrations put down roots while still carrying on the so-called emergency activities, there can be no growth of permanent value. Furthermore, roots can be grown only when there is local participation in what is going on. Thus far, this philosophy has been somewhat conspicuous by its absence in many parts of the country.

There has been some tendency toward letting down standards of personnel selected for rural communities. A small community's attitude toward professional social work and social workers will be determined almost entirely by the type of person who comes in to initiate the case-work program. The story of how many rural communities have been improperly conditioned because the case worker was not qualified either by training, experience, or personality for her task will be a sad story when it comes to be written. Another sad tale is that of the rural community in which the relief administration lays claim to have a trained staff, but in reality is trusting the job largely to unskilled persons. In that case public officials and citizens reject what they think social work is, based upon their observations of what is happening in their midst without ever having seen the real article.

Rural communities in many of our states can never carry on a welfare program without financial assistance. Neither will they feel a proper responsibility for a structure financed entirely by state and federal funds. Joint financing on an equalization basis seems to be the answer to the financial problem. Precedents for this have been established in the fields of health and education. Participation in determining standards of administration and of personnel should be the privilege as well as the responsibility of each of the political subdivisions sharing the financial burden.

Mass movements of populations either into or out of rural communities can never be brought about by official fiat. Motivation for such movements must come through common religious, racial, economic, or social interests within the groups affected. In planning rural programs this principle, in support of which plenty of evidence could be presented, should be kept in

mind. Many dreams conjured up by the knowledge that Washington is willing to put up money for rural projects can be seen walking in certain administrative centers far removed from the realities of boll-weevil, grasshoppers, corn-borers, flood, and drought.

As a result of our emergency administrations there are evidences in our rural areas which indicate the practicability of integrating the various social welfare services in one unit in the locality too small to afford specialized activities. This would seem to indicate more rather than less generalized training for rural workers and a new philosophy regarding social planning.

There has been much confusion both in our thinking and in our planning because we have thrown relief and unemployment into one hopper. In rural areas the problem is not so much one of unemployment as it is of exhaustion of natural resources, the result of world-market conditions, oversupply and underconsumption, and many other deep-seated economic factors which do not fall within the scope of this paper.

There are always present in any rural community long-time social problems with which, as previously indicated, only about 35 per cent of the states had equipped themselves to deal prior to the depression. It is fair to assume that many communities will make the cutover from an emergency relief administration to a long-time welfare program if there is sufficient leadership from the top and proper participation from the local communities. But unless each community recognizes that it is facing two separate and distinct problems, it will not be able for a long time to evolve a realistic method of solving its difficulties.

Someone has said that life itself is a concession to improbability. It seems not too fantastic then, to hope, that under the leadership of the New Deal rural America will become something more than a place from which to move.

THE NEGRO AND RELIEF

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THE most striking fact in connection with the Negro and relief is that the Negro bulks on the rolls of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration all out of proportion to his numbers in the general population, both in the country as a whole and in practically all of the states. A survey made by the F.E.R.A. last October (1933) showed that Negroes constituted 18.4 per cent of all families on the relief rolls, while in 1930 the census showed that they constituted only 9.4 per cent of the entire population.

This is due largely to factors which can be controlled, but which are not in the control of the Negro; for instance, in the South many plantation owners have deliberately placed the Negro on the relief rolls during the "lay-off" season when plowing, chopping, and cotton-picking were over, and in the North, as well as the South, manufacturing concerns have forced him on the relief rolls by instituting color bans, either in the open or under cover, when they think public opinion is opposed to the employment of Negro labor, while white men and women are out of work. Thus, the United States government has become a subsidizer for southern and northern, rural and urban, employers of Negro labor during off-seasons in industry.

This practice of the displacement of Negro labor by white labor began even before the depression. The Negro felt its effect as early as 1927. From the very beginning it has been stimulated by outside forces. For instance, an organization called the Blue Shirts was set up in Jacksonville, Florida, about 1926 for the express purpose of replacing Negroes in employment with white men. An organization called the Black Shirts was formed at Atlanta, Georgia, late in 1927 for the same purpose. The

Black Shirts, whose regalia consisted chiefly of black shirts and black neckties, published a daily newspaper. They frequently held night parades in which were carried such signs as "Employ white man and let 'Niggers' go"; "Thousands of white families are starving to death—what is the reason?"; and "Send 'Niggers' back to the farms."

Dishonesty and dissension within their own ranks put the Blue Shirts and the Black Shirts per se out of existence, but their purposes and policies have been perpetuated by new organizations who picked up where they left off. Public officials have made public statements urging the displacement of colored labor, immediately preceding and during the period of the depression. For instance, the mayor of a certain Virginia City said, "I will employ as few Negroes as possible on public works," and added, "Private business should take the hint." Again the secretary of agriculture of a certain state, who is now its governor, stated, "It is a shame that Negroes are employed in the hotels of the capital city and other cities when there are so many young white people unemployed."

Public ordinances have been successfully urged by white politicians in such cities as West Palm Beach, Florida, and Tulsa, Oklahoma, restricting the use of Negro labor.

Moreover, organized white labor, directly and indirectly, because of its insistence upon, and relative success in, dictating that only union members shall be employed under the recovery program, is an accessory in forcing the Negro on relief rolls, because so many of the important international crafts unions or locals thereof have bans against Negro membership.

The fourth factor in forcing Negroes upon relief rolls has been the inequitable local administration of certain departments of the government's own recovery program, particularly in the rural South. For instance, in a recent report submitted to the secretary of one of the major departments of the government by an investigator, the following statements were made:

One of the most striking difficulties encountered by Negro farmers in the South has been incident to the securing of credit. The Farm Credit Adminis-

tration has not corrected this situation. In many instances, responsible persons working in the program for the agricultural development of the state showed me farms upon which Negroes had been unable to obtain a reasonable loan. In Jones County, for example, the tendency was to grant loans to colored farmers, but to limit the size of the loan to such an amount as to make it useless for the borrower to accept the offer. A Negro farm owner in the same county asked for \$3,000 on 120 acres. He was given \$800. A white neighbor across the road from him received \$900 on 30 acres. The nature and state of repairs of the buildings were about the same in both instances. Again a Negro farmer who applied for \$1,000 was offered \$250. Appraisers for the Federal Farm Credit Administration have been most unsympathetic in their treatment throughout the state of colored farmers, and needless to say there are many cases in which colored farm owners are losing their property because of their inability to meet their obligations.

Let me explain how the cotton-acreage reduction plan has been administered locally in such a way as to throw thousands of Negro rural families on relief. The cultivation of cotton gives rise to the employment of more Negroes than the production of any other commodity. Only about 12 per cent of the Negro farmers are owners in the cotton states. The great bulks are either share tenants, share croppers, or farm laborers. The chief benefits of the cotton-acreage plan goes to the owners and cash tenants. The direct payments are made to them.

Altogether too large a proportion of the owners are taking advantage of the reduction plan to exploit the share cropper and share tenants. First, they have not kept their promise to maintain the same number of families on their farms after the reduction as before; second, where they have not actually displaced families, they have given them only shelter and fuel and have failed to provide that one thing which is basic to the existence of the share cropper or share tenant, that is, a contract whereby he can produce a crop. Without such a contract, which provides seeds, subsistence, and equipment, there can be no income, and the helpless share cropper has no certain means of supplying himself and his family with food and clothing.

In many cases the tenant farmers have not received the full amount specified by the 1933 cotton plow-up contract. Landlords have been allowed to take advantage of certain confusion in classification of types of tenants in the 1934 contract and

have, contrary to the law, reduced the status of their share tenants to that of share croppers. This allowed the landlords to receive the full payments from the acreage-reduction plan without having to share with his tenants. Moreover, when landlords did pay tenants a share, in many cases, the latter have not received the full amount specified by the 1933 contract.

While the type of landlords to whom reference has been made are exploiting both white and black share croppers, they are exploiting the Negro most because they have less to fear from him and from public sentiment.

A large section of the plantation-owning class believes that the prosperity of their group is dependent on the maintenance of what might best be described as "serf labor." Naturally this section of the plantation-owning class will be opposed to the extension to that serf labor of political rights, equal educational opportunities, justice before the law, and the like. Clark Foreman, adviser on Negro affairs in the Department of the Interior, in an article published in *Opportunity* last month says:

Down-trodden and terrorized into peonage by those who claim that "white supremacy" must be insured by such measures, the majority of rural Negroes are confined to abject servitude and hopeless poverty. Time and time again it has been publicly stated by spokesmen of the exploiting land owners that the only way to treat a Negro is to work him as hard as possible and give him just enough to live on. The economic advantage to the landlord of such a precept is obvious.

These local abuses in the administration of federal aid to the Negro farmer did not begin with the initiation of the recovery program. They existed in connection with the federal farm-relief measures inaugurated during the Hoover administration.

The following statement is quoted from a picture of the situation prior to the New Deal presented at a Conference on the Economic Status of the Negro, held under the auspices of the Rosenwald Fund at Washington last May.

The feed, seed and fertilizer loans have been variously administered. Although in a few black areas the tenants received and spent their loans according to the intent of the law, the planters often got control of the tenants' checks. As a matter of fact, the landlord virtually forces the tenant to deliver

the check to him; the landlord explains to the tenant that he will not waive his rent to the government—one of the requirements for the loan—unless the tenant agrees to bring the check to him when it comes. When the check came it was delivered to the landlord and the latter often took the money and deposited it to his own account, issuing cash back to the tenant as he felt the tenant needed it. For this service the planter usually charged eight per cent interest. "Thus, the tenant pays double interest—six per cent to the government for the money and an additional eight per cent to the planter for keeping it for him." This practice is common in the upper part of the Georgia Black Belt.

Of course, white share croppers and share tenants suffered too, but the difference between their situation and that of the Negro was that whatever effective protest there was against this exploitation was available, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, only to the white share croppers and share tenants. They had the strongest weapon of defense, namely, the ballot, which in a majority of southern communities the Negro did not possess. A voteless people cannot bring much pressure to bear and conversely are not to be feared.

But this back-fire against the Negro of local application of various divisions of the government's recovery program has not been confined to the agricultural divisions.

The imposition of the N.R.A. codes has resulted in the discharge and forcing on relief of many Negro workers. Southern manufacturers, particularly, have put up a stubborn fight to pay the Negro a lower wage than the codes provided, and where they have been unable to accomplish their purpose they have, in many cases, discharged Negro employees rather than pay the same wages someone else was paying whites. It was more a blind allegiance to the mores than anything else, because if they could not have afforded to pay the wages demanded by the codes, they would have closed their shops. It was simply part of the southern tradition not to pay Negroes the same wages as whites, and so they took on whites.

Many of the occupations had been held traditionally by Negroes, hence the employers had no factual basis for concluding that white labor would be more efficient than black in the particular trades in question. In fact, there were instances in which

the white labor proved so unsatisfactory that the employers turned back to Negro labor.

Perhaps I have dwelt at too great a length upon conditions in the South. I have done so, however, only because the great mass of Negroes still reside in the South—and especially in the rural South. But, I do not wish to give the impression that the North is guiltless in disfranchising the Negro in industry and forcing the race to become in large numbers clients of the relief organizations.

In industrial and commercial centers throughout the North, the Negro has been (and is being) displaced by whites in jobs which he has held traditionally. If space permitted I could insert a long list of occupations in northern cities in which pale faces have been substituted for black ones.

It does not destroy the validity of the argument if these displacements do not always take place in the large concerns. The aggregate effect of the displacement, in thousands of small businesses, of Negro elevator operators, waiters and waitresses, porters, bellmen, hotel maids, teamsters, and the like is just as serious as if the same number had been displaced in a few industries which are large employers of Negro labor. An individual Negro is just as much a financial charge upon the relief organization whether he was a car-washer in a small garage or a car-maker in a great Detroit automobile factory.

For instance, the significance of the displacement of Negro domestics in northern cities must not be overlooked. Whites are being "taken on" in large numbers in positions formerly held by Negro household workers. If anyone doubts this—all he or she has to do for confirmation—is to compare the "want ads." columns of any northern newspaper of seven years back with those of the same paper today. The great increase in advertisements today which ask for white domestics, as compared with a few years ago, will, I am sure, be surprising.

I think I ought to make the observation that some of the larger northern firms are "canny" and retain a mere handful out of a formerly large Negro force, so that it cannot be said (theo-

retically) that they have instituted a color ban. But, practically, the effect is the same. What difference does it make if ninety-eight or a hundred out of a hundred Negro workmen are replaced by whites? The fact remains that the racial policy of the company has changed and that the 98 per cent of the Negro employees will soon be on the relief rolls.

And so the Negro finds himself, in his endeavor to maintain some semblance of a status in industry in America, caught between the two horns of a dilemma—the employer on one side and organized labor on the other.

All these various factors which have been cited have operated not only to make him the worst victim of the depression, but they have also operated, as was stated at the outset, to throw him on the relief rolls of the government in numbers all out of proportion to his numbers in the general population.

DANGERS INVOLVED IN THIS SITUATION

There are potential dangers involved in this situation. First, there is the danger of making the Negro, as a race, a chronic dependent and forcing upon the Federal Emergency Relief Administration a fourth major problem, that is, Negro relief, in addition to the three it now recognizes as basic, namely, the care of distressed rural families, the unemployed of the cities, and stranded populations; and, second, there is the danger of developing racial friction through creating resentment on the part of the majority public against the presence of so many Negroes on the relief rolls. Already community-chest executives in certain cities have stated that they are averse to the publication of data touching on the number of Negroes on relief rolls because, in spite of the fact that community-chest agencies are not carrying Negroes on relief, nevertheless, certain of their large contributors have indicated an intention to discontinue their contributions if so many Negroes continue to be supported on relief.

Even some employees of various local relief administrations are becoming emotional and “jittery” on the subject, and in

their exasperation are beginning to blame the Negroes themselves for their presence in large numbers on relief rolls. These social workers have become blinded by the masses of Negroes to the underlying factors which are forcing them on the relief organizations. They are predisposed to allow one or two examples of Negro "chiseling" to convince them that the great mass of Negroes are "chiselers." They use this assumption as a justification in proceeding to solve the problem by arbitrarily reducing Negro case loads.

These arbitrary methods of reducing the preponderance of Negroes on the relief rolls do not by any means solve the problem. The process does get the Negroes off the rolls, but it does not get them employment. In fact, it makes criminals out of many of them and the communities simply have to take care of them in correctional institutions instead of taking care of them as relief cases. This exchange in the method of caring for the Negro is stupid because it substitutes for a possible program of rehabilitation at public expense a program of demoralization also at public expense and at an expense which is considerably more costly.

The loss of employment and the consequent reduction in income of the Negro has reflected itself throughout his entire socio-economic structure.

A large amount of the progress the Negro has made, especially as a result of his migration to the industrial centers during and after the World War, has been lost. He no longer has a secure place in industry, he is losing the decent housing he had acquired for himself; his death-rate, which had been declining, is now rising, and he has seen crime within his group increase. His forward movement in education has been—at least temporarily—checked, as many of his schools and colleges have been forced to close.

The first real advance he has made in business has been all but swept away, and, in general, his community and family life has become seriously disorganized.

Therefore, as has already been stated, the Negro has massed

very largely on the relief rolls as a result of the depression. He massed on these rolls before the F.E.R.A. was set up, when unemployment relief was administered by the local communities or states exclusively, which proves that his present massing on the F.E.R.A. rolls is due to conditions other than the attractiveness of public over private relief. The fact is that the Negro was hit so much harder than any other group in the country by the depression and the economic conditions immediately preceding it that he would have massed large on any relief rolls, whether public or private, federal or local.

It is interesting, on the other hand, to recall that previous to the depression the number of Negroes on the rolls of relief agencies was less than their proportion of the general population in the majority of communities. The standard of their living and working conditions may have been lower than that of any other group in the community, but they cared for themselves, and only extreme necessity forced them to seek organized, private, or public charity. But it is possible by sheer attrition to convert a group that has not been seekers of charity into professional mendicants.

NEGRO'S EFFORTS TO HELP HIMSELF FUTILE

The Negro of the masses, in trying to escape from the dilemma which faces him, is doing many things that are obviously futile and some that would be fantastic and ridiculous if they were not so tragic. It must be borne in mind, however, that he is desperate, and that he is in the position of a drowning man who clutches at even a straw.

Some Negroes are joining religious movements which are new to them, in the vain hope that a new type of church affiliation will help them improve their economic plight. Perhaps the most interesting example of this attempted strategy is the increasing number of Negro Protestants who have joined the Roman Catholic church during the last three years.

The Negro is also attempting to improve his economic status by changing his politics. It is generally known that there was a

large trek of Negroes from the Republican to the Democratic party at the last election; but it is not generally known that black voters were beginning to switch their party allegiance in elections two or three years before this. They had become disappointed in the Republican party as a solution for their economic problems as they had been disappointed in the Protestant church. More Negroes than ever before supported the Socialist party at the last election, although this affiliation was confined to leaders rather than to the proletariat.

A growing number of Negroes are turning toward communism, especially in northern cities, and a much larger number would probably be found associated with this movement in southern cities if it were not for the ruthless methods by which southern authorities suppress communistic activities. Negroes of the masses do not know any more about ideology of communism than the common man knows about the theory of relativity, but they do know that the communist party advocates economic equality whether they obtain it for the Negro or not. Undoubtedly, this is disturbing to those who believe in the American form of government, and, undoubtedly, the Negro prefers the American type of government; but the attitude of many Negroes can be summed up in Lord Byron's famous expression: "What care I how fair she be, if she be not fair to me?" In other words, the Negro takes the position that it does not make any difference to him how ideal the government of the United States may be if that idealism is not applied to him.

Moreover, in addition to changing his religion and his politics, a certain element of Negroes, out of the pressure of job displacement, are changing their "color," and a large number of Negroes who at former censuses had allowed themselves to be counted as "colored" took advantage of their extreme light complexion for the first time at the 1930 census and chose to have themselves classified as "white."

But all this is practically futile. The Negro cannot lift himself by his bootstraps. The cards are stacked against him.

DIFFERENCE OF OPINION REGARDING FAIRNESS TO NEGROES

There are two schools of opinion as to what the F.E.R.A. has meant to the Negro. To the average white person it appears that the Negro has obtained more than his share of government support; that the F.E.R.A. has leaned over backward in aiding the Negro. On the other hand, the majority of Negroes, and many white sympathizers, claim that this is only a superficial observation; that while the relief administration has carried an inordinately large number of Negroes on its direct relief rolls and on the rolls of the unskilled phases of its work program, it has seriously neglected all Negroes above the lowest socio-economic class.

Complaints in the form of sworn affidavits sent to my office in reference to conditions in the capital city of a certain commonwealth state:

We have not one representative on the clerical force of any of the C.W.A. projects, and only one as foreman on a paint project. There are now employed in the city on C.W.A. projects 167 carpenters of which number only six are colored, whereas, there are in the city 50 colored carpenters and carpenter foremen who are in destitute circumstances and burdened with families.

We have registered and have been waiting for months for calls to service and when we call to find out when to go to work we are told "There is no place for people of your type!"

From another capital city in the North with a Negro population of almost 150,000, which constitutes 27 per cent of the total population, have come repeated complaints of Negro civic organizations that the placement of "white-collar" workers has been confined almost wholly to colored projects. This has resulted in colored persons obtaining less than 5 per cent of the white-collar positions. These organizations also complained that it was a policy to confine the placement of colored workers in industry to the unskilled occupations.

Another letter from a Negro organization in a city with one of the largest Negro populations in the country calls attention to the fact that more than twenty-five school buildings are being erected using C.W.A. labor and that not one of them—not even

the one which is attended by 98 per cent colored pupils—is using a single skilled colored laborer.

In other words, taking the country as a whole, very few skilled Negro mechanics or Negroes of the professional classes, or Negroes of the clerical classes, were provided with employment. The truth lies somewhere between the two extremes of opinion—one which maintains that the Negro is obtaining more than his share of public relief and the other which maintains that only one element of the Negro group is being aided.

The legislation which created the F.E.R.A. specifically stated that there should be no discrimination as regards race. The F.E.R.A., itself, in its policies and pronouncements has taken more than a negative stand in the matter. In fact, in work bulletins issued by the National Office, it has been specifically stated that there should be no such discrimination. On the other hand, there is no question that in many local communities—in fact, in the average local community—there has been discrimination ranging from that which might be called slight to that which amounted practically to criminal malfeasance in office. It is, of course, not much consolation to a Negro white-collar worker in a local community to know that the national office of the F.E.R.A. is opposed to discrimination if he or she is unable to obtain a white-collar job in his local community because he is a Negro.

Therefore, summing the matter up, the situation seems to be that while the Negro has bulked large on relief rolls of the F.E.R.A., he has bulked large in direct relief and in the unskilled phases of work relief.

RELIEF ADMINISTRATION A GODSEND TO NEGRO

But, on the other hand, it must be recognized that, in spite of its shortcomings locally, and in spite of the fact that it has meant very little, taking the country as a whole, with one exception, to the skilled Negro mechanics, the Negro technician, the Negro of the profession, and the Negro business man, the F.E.R.A. has been a godsend to the Negro of the masses.

Before I discuss what it has meant to the Negro of the masses,

I wish to make clear the one exception in the technical classes to which I referred. I have in mind the large number of college-trained Negro men and women who have been hired by the various state and local relief administrations as case workers and case work aides. Previous to the establishment of the F.E.R.A. there were a little less than three hundred paid Negro case workers in the country; today a conservative estimate puts the figure at something over three thousand. An increase in the employment of Negroes of 1,000 per cent in one skilled occupation cannot be overlooked or sneered at.

I have said that the F.E.R.A. has been a godsend to the Negro of the masses. Without it he could hardly have survived. It even brought to some Negroes a standard of living superior to that to which they had been accustomed before the depression. In some communities the minimum budget for food and necessities exceeds their previous highest wages. It is a curious commentary on industrial conditions in the South that at the height of prosperity many Negroes never earned as much or ate as well as is the case under relief—and no fair-minded person claims that relief budgets have been extravagant anywhere in the South. The rural rehabilitation program of the F.E.R.A. is the first ray of hope that thousands of Negro share croppers and tenant farmers have seen in decades. It must not be forgotten that under the C.W.A. more was done for Negro schools than any state has ever done. The C.W.A. opened schools for rural Negroes at a rate known equal only to that of the Rosenwald Fund in the old days.

Moreover, the adult illiteracy classes which were set up under C.W.A. auspices in many sections have brought a new outlook on life to thousands of Negroes, especially in the South. A letter addressed to President Roosevelt and referred by one of his secretaries to my office within the last few days with reference to an adult illiteracy school maintained by the F.E.R.A. in a certain southern state reads:

The Adult School here is the grandest thing that has ever happened since the birth of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. There have been many old

white haired grown up colored people made proud after learning to read and write. After knowing that they were eager to learn I put forth every moment I had to help them, working over time day and night. There were some that could not attend day school so they would come at night.

This work has been a joy of my life to help my own people and really give service. And the adults are asking if the school will continue next fall. Please.

I am enclosing letters from some of my adult students from the age of fifty-three up. They could not write their names when we opened last November; could not even count five. And now you see how well they are getting along. They asked me to send these letters to you that you may know they appreciate what is being done for them.

May God bless you and family.

Let me make my point of view on this situation clear. I believe the advantages to the Negro of the F.E.R.A. program far outweigh all the suffering growing out of irregularities in local administration and the totality of the injustices.

We must remember that the F.E.R.A. was an emergency organization developed almost overnight. Its personnel was practically drafted. Results had to be obtained in a hurry. Under such circumstances the F.E.R.A. could not be expected to change instantaneously the mores of whole sections of the country which the government itself has been unable to change during the seventy years since emancipation—even during times when conditions were normal.

MODIFIED CENTRALIZED CONTROL HIS ONLY HOPE

About the only source to which the Negro can look for real aid today is the United States government. Experience has shown that local authorities cannot be trusted to administer equably government funds in many sections of the country so far as Negroes are concerned. I am satisfied that the national administration is eminently fair and wants to reach out and see the benefits of its recovery program extended to every citizen, but this ideal is neutralized in many local communities. On the other hand, one does not need to argue for complete centralized control by the federal government, but rather for a degree of protection for a group which experience has proved suffers at the

hands of local administrators. Some definite and vigorous precaution should be taken to prevent the perversion of the intentions of the federal government. The Negro of the masses feels this keenly, as is evidenced by the thousands of letters he is now writing to the national headquarters of the government in Washington and particularly to the President, whom many of them have come to look upon as a sort of "great white father."

There was something more than humor in the case of the Negro farmer, Sylvester Harris of Mississippi, who got through a long-distance call to President Roosevelt. Fundamentally, it was an expression of the lack of faith in the possibility of getting a square deal locally and an indication that the Negro has learned to complain and believes his chief hope is in the federal government.

This feeling on the part of the Negro that he needs more protection from the national government is not confined to the Negro masses.

In a speech at the twenty-eighth anniversary of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, the oldest and largest Negro College Fraternity in the country, on December 28, 1933, Rayford W. Logan, distinguished Negro historian and professor at Atlanta University, made the following statement:

It was the national government that freed the great masses of Negro slaves. It is the state governments that have allowed them to remain in peonage. It was the national government that gave the freedmen the right to vote. It is the state governments that have curtailed those rights. It is the national government that gives employment to thousands of Negroes. It is the state and municipal government that refuses to give them that employment in the South. Count, for example, the hundreds of Negro mail carriers against the total absence of state employees in even a liberal Southern state like Virginia. It is the national government that pays Negroes equal salaries—with many limitations of advancement, it is true. Let the mail carriers again serve as an example—colored mail carriers are paid the same salaries as whites, while Negro school teachers almost universally in the South receive a much lower wage than do white school teachers. The Second Morrill Act requires States with separate land grant schools to make equitable appropriations for Negroes whereas the iniquitous allocation of Southern state funds through the counties is a shame that stinks to heaven—and I use those words advisedly.

RECOMMENDATIONS

It is imperative that the following seven remedial measures be undertaken to change the situation:

First, the President, or some public power almost as important, must impress upon the employing class, both in the North and in the South, that they are committing not only a social injustice but a civic blunder in deliberately throwing the support of the Negro labor on the relief arm of the federal government. I think this same power should be brought to bear—and for the same reasons—upon certain local political officeholders who have used their legislative or executive power or the influence of their position to encourage the discharge of Negro labor. Again I think some sort of federal curb should be placed upon certain private organizations who for the last six or seven years have been definitely organized for the purpose of ousting Negroes from industrial employment.

Incidentally, I think that it is as much a function of the relief arm of the national and state governments to diagnose those general evils within the business and industrial life of the nation which have caused unemployment and the pathological consequences of unemployment as it is to administer relief, and to bring to the attention of the President and Congress, for remedial treatment, these underlying evils which have been discovered.

Second, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration must so integrate the Negro into its work program that it will preserve the industrial stability and morale of Negro labor which private industry is destroying.

Third, the F.E.R.A. should put at the disposal of the Negro group the full benefits of its self-help program in order that co-operatives and government subsidized industries may be developed in Negro communities.

Fourth, organized labor should be compelled to remove the bans that are set up against Negro membership in the worthwhile crafts unions, or these unions should not be allowed to have any preferential treatment from the N.R.A., the P.W.A.,

or any other agency which expends funds of the federal government.

Fifth, that Negroes be placed on all committees having to do with the distribution of government funds intended for the rehabilitation of victims of the unemployment crisis. This is the only satisfactory means to guarantee equitable distribution of these funds to Negroes.

Sixth, that colored workers be used throughout the relief organization in communities where there is a considerable Negro population. This will further insure equitable distribution of government funds in local communities and, incidentally, is the only effective way to reduce Negro case loads where there happen to be Negroes who are taking advantage of the relief organizations, for Negro case workers can locate resources, relatives, etc., of whom white investigators would know nothing.

Seventh, special efforts should be made by the federal government at Washington to insure that the right kind of administrators are appointed in various local communities. This could best be obtained if the national heads of every department of the recovery program would see to it that their state administrators are sound on race. These state administrators can do more than anyone else to put a stop to the exploitation of Negroes in local communities. There would not be much of a problem if local authorities were persons of fairness and vision. The best way to obtain this type of local authority is for the centralized government to see that state administrators are persons of fairness and vision.

Thus, while there would not be, strictly speaking, centralized control, it would exist in a modified form, and I make no apology for advocating such moderate and modernized, centralized control, because, as I have already said, it is the only way that the Negro can be guaranteed a fair chance for rehabilitation now, during the depression, and in the future.

THE UNATTACHED WOMAN

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FOR the first time in history there appear to be vast numbers of women without male support. When this sad condition is intensified by a scarcity of jobs, a situation arises in large urban centers that demands immediate solution.

Entrance into the economic field brought the non-family woman out of the chimney corner and little by little the attitude of society toward her changed, as did the attitude of the men in the family. They began to accept her at her own valuation—capable of self-support. Suffrage made her status even more clear and the World War thrust her into a position of responsibility from which she is loath to withdraw. The recent shattering of the economic world has plunged her again into a position of dependency, and with the age-old urge to escape from dependency, she takes this depression and what it does to her in a very personal manner—as an attack on the new status achieved by so many years of striving. It is the security of her whole future that is at stake.

Society has, therefore, this group of women—previously self-supporting, with more than an ordinary shrinking from relief—terrified of the future. Out of this background many have come before us in the last three years, resentful, bitter, desperate, harder to deal with than almost any other group because not only are they hungry and tired, but their very personalities have been injured and they throw a protective covering about themselves that makes it exceedingly difficult to uncover the real situation.

With all the complexities of their problems, only a discriminating case-work service is of value. Any other manner of administering relief to this group is not only valueless but actu-

ally harmful. It will not be accepted by the ones that need help most, as only the easily dependent will respond to a congregate plan. To group them together as in general housing schemes breaks a spirit within these women that is keeping them alive and struggling. Once having given up the struggle, they seem to surrender completely, and the self-confidence and self-esteem so lost are exceedingly difficult to restore. They are then on the way to develop what our consulting psychiatrist calls a "dependency neurosis."

Each woman thinks that her case is different from all others, requiring very special treatment. Therefore she must be dealt with, not in a group, but as an individual, with the most kindly consideration of all the needs she thinks she has and patient attention to the injustice she believes she has suffered.

An intake office is best removed from other relief services. Intake policies should be flexible and in the hands of the best-qualified and experienced case workers available. No rigid attitudes and formalities should be permitted to develop. Attractive surroundings should prevail in such an office, as well as friendly and courteous reception at a registration desk; quite as if the women were coming to buy bonds instead of to apply for relief. The importance of the first contact cannot be overestimated, and the interview should not be hurried. If talkative, the clients must have time to talk themselves out, and from the jumbled outpourings the skilful interviewer may be able to sort out and arrange in order of their importance the real and imagined troubles. A morose, silent person must be made to feel the friendliness she does not believe exists.

Material needs must be met first and immediately if indicated. Very few of our women are homeless; most of them have clung to some corner they call home and to maintain which they will sacrifice all else. No large shelter program, therefore, is needed or desirable. Some provision must be made, of course, for emergency shelter, but proper housing in their own quarters should be the ultimate aim, even though, as with the aged, care must be continued throughout life. Relief in kind is intolerable

to women who have always earned their own way. They are used to handling money and cash relief should be instituted as well as a strong work program for all able to participate in it. They always ask for work, not relief. At the intake desk also should begin some sort of classification. The unemployables, the aged, or the chronically ill should be referred to a permanent agency. These are not problems of unemployment and should be immediately separated from the employable women and girls who apply.

Group housing which will provide opportunity for special care and study has a distinct place. I like to think of them as "diagnostic centers." Here we may place the women who cannot be housed by themselves; those who need special medical attention but not hospitalization; those who show mental instability and need a period of observation; and those who show such malnutrition that a regulated feeding program is necessary as well as those for whom social diagnosis and study are indicated. A center such as this should provide cheerful attractive quarters that lend themselves to classification of residents according to age, medical needs, and other natural groupings. The staff should include, or have easily available, besides the regular housekeeping personnel, medical and nutrition service, case-work department, psychiatric and dental advice and treatment, occupational therapy, as well as educational and recreational resources. Such housing should continue as long as such study and treatment are necessary, but no longer.

In Chicago we have a center where admission is on the basis of need as outlined above—which, in our opinion, is the only justification for congregate care. The cost of this service at the present time, including everything, is sixty-six cents per day, per capita. Dividing this into the various services, we find the cost rate shown in Table I.

The low cost is not at all indicative of the quality of service rendered, as the standards are high. It would be poor economy to fail to give this service as eventually we pay in dollars and cents for our social neglect.

Some of the medical findings in this home shed light on our problem. Space limits will not permit much detail, but of the two thousand women entered here during a two-year period only approximately 11 per cent needed no physical care. Malnutrition and dental cases were present so constantly that they were almost taken for granted.

According to our resident physician, the age from forty to sixty is the time when many things happen to us, none of which may be serious with proper attention. It is called the "tumor age"; conditions may develop that never troubled us before,

TABLE I

Household maintenance.....	\$0.28
Dietetic service (including food).....	.22
Social service.....	.06
Medical and dental services.....	.06
Occupational therapy.....	0.04
Total.....	\$0.66

and this is increasingly so if worry and neglect are our daily companions. Menopause, hypertension, heart conditions, diabetes, and arthritis are a few of the possibilities, as well as late changes in the third stage of syphilis. The prevalence of syphilis is emphasized by the fact that out of 459 women examined during a certain period 82 were diagnosed as having syphilis; of this number, 52 were not previously diagnosed and 63 had never been treated. Only 10 were under treatment at the time of admission. Comparatively few of the younger group need this special medical care. Of those under care the great need seems to be for post-operative and prenatal attention. Syphilis again is well in the lead.

In this home each woman who is able has definite tasks assigned to her. Those unable to take such responsibility are placed in the occupational therapy department, where they learn to do creative things with their hands. Some are very shy at first but they soon catch the spirit of "the studio" and are hard at it. The looms attract many of our old country women while

basketry, metal work, the making of stage sets, etc.—not to mention knitting and plain sewing—are very popular. Dramatics have an important place, and perhaps the most spectacular bit of adjustment took place in the cast of "Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves." A woman was admitted to the home from the county hospital. She had suffered a leg injury and was sure she would never walk again. Every effort to get her on her feet failed until it was suggested that if she could learn to walk she might have a part in this play. The idea took hold and she appeared on the stage without even a suggestion of a limp.

Thus with regular care, food under supervision of a trained nutritionist, and constructive occupation, most of these women are restored to health and usefulness. Without this service they would probably remain a permanent burden to society. Those found to be chronically ill as well as the aged are transferred to a public agency equipped to give them permanent care. Psychotic women who need commitment receive this care without hesitation, providing such recommendation is made by a psychiatrist of unquestioned standing. A special work plan has been successful in Chicago in providing sheltered employment for some psychotic women who could remain in the community without harm to themselves or others.

One of the greatest handicaps in dealing with the non-family woman is her isolation. It magnifies all other problems and aggravates the personality difficulties that lie behind many of them. The urge for companionship and affection is responsible for marriages as foolish as any adolescent ever contracted or for many of our women taking unto themselves lovers even though it means sharing the meager food order intended for one. Dogs, cats, canaries, and other pets sometimes satisfy this craving. This woman is cut off from church because she has no money or clothes and no longer attends her lodge or union for the same reason. With every normal relationship blocked, she has built up a wall that shuts out the whole world until almost any kind of neurosis and psychosis comes to the surface with more than average intensity. Every effort should be made to

maintain the daily routine of regular eating, sleeping, etc., of mingling with men and women normally employed instead of permitting them to gather together in "classes for the unemployed" or "recreation for relief clients." Our psychiatrist tells us that the number of potential suicides has increased markedly this last year, due to the long continuance of dependency and the isolation that aggravates its effects.

When all of these things are done which look so well on paper, the one terrifying need still remains unprovided for—the need of a job. Without this job there will continue illness, mental and emotional instability, and all the rest of the devastating results that are playing such havoc with human beings. Let us look frankly at the people with whom we are dealing. What is their value to industry and what can we do to give them back the place they have lost?

First, we have the group of well-trained women out of work because the departments in which they worked were discontinued or because their employers went out of business. Temporary aid and a word of encouragement and assurance that we are here to help are generally sufficient. These women make their own adjustments, find their own jobs, and we see them for only a short time.

Second, we have the younger group—some of whom have never been employed—either wholly untrained or else their training has been forgotten as they were forced from ribbon counter to cashier's desk, to movie theater, etc. For these young people we must do something immediately in the line of vocational guidance and training. Every public-school system should consider this one of its major jobs even if some other courses have to be dropped in order to accomplish it.

The third group is the group of older women about whom we hear so much. Many of them have never been properly trained for anything. They are self-supporting in years of prosperity but nothing will now make up for this lack of training. Others of this group have been skilful in their youth but they have lost both speed and skill through their long period of unemploy-

ment. We speak of them as the forty-to-sixty-age group, but they really begin at thirty-five. Are we to set them aside as through and permit them to become permanent burdens on society?

What can be done about it? To help answer this question the Service Bureau for Women of Cook County invited a number of these older women "on relief" to confer on the problems which concern them so vitally. It was such a successful experiment that the conferences are continuing with increasing popularity. We thought they would complain about inadequate relief and various other shortcomings of the I.E.R.C., but they wasted no time on any such commonplaces. Their one long continuous cry was for work. They sized up their own difficulties as:

(1) Age—their very obvious efforts at rejuvenation had been of no avail; no employment service gave them any attention and they felt that they should have a special department where the employment problems of older women might be given consideration.

(2) Exploitation of domestic service until it had become the dump heap of those who were unfit for any kind of service.

(3) Need for some kind of training or re-education for jobs that might still be available for them.

They are asking us what we can do about these vexing problems—looking to us for a leadership that makes us humble indeed. In part our answer is:

1. Every effort should be made to force our re-employment offices to give efficient and courteous service with perhaps a separate department for older women.

2. Exploitation of domestic service is nothing new. Perhaps we are fortunate to have a dump heap which permits some poor souls to "keep off relief" a bit longer—an achievement as they see it, worth striving for. Certainly this whole field needs as it always has careful study with vision and wisdom.

3. Training and re-education we are in a position to do something about. The new deal has provided us with an instrument that we may use in this direction—the work program of the

federal government. Thoughtful planning can use this money to provide training projects for those who may still profit by them. We must urge our work divisions to help us put these into operation. But, they say, "What is the use of vocational training unless at the end of it lies a job? Will even recovered industry be able to reabsorb us—there are so many younger ones." I am afraid even our "Brain Trust" cannot answer that one. Things are happening too fast in this industrial world for us to know whether we are training people for employment or just to keep ourselves all busy. To find out just what shifts in industry are taking place as applied to specific local situations is of vital importance, so that we may know what types of training have value.

We need facts in order to determine the direction we are going and why. Mr. Hopkins has signified his interest in projects of research. Can we not use this opportunity his relief administration presents to get at some of the facts we need so desperately?

In recapitulation, therefore, may we suggest:

I. *A separate bureau* to deal with the unattached or non-family women of any large urban community. The difference between dealing with the unattached woman and with the family lies perhaps in its emphasis rather than in its technique, but this fact alone justifies a separate service.

II. *Discriminating classification* of persons with whom we deal, separating the aged and the unemployable and giving them permanent care by the proper agency. Providing the employable and the younger groups with their own case-work service, suitable to their age and needs.

III. *Adequate provision* for material needs—food, rent, medical care, clothing. No self-respecting plan can be worked out with people who are hungry, sick, or clad in an inadequate or unsuitable manner. Cash relief or work program paid in cash.

IV. *A vital program* of activity that will include vocational training as well as educational and recreational opportunities. Many of the latter are conducted on a free basis, and a good

work-relief project might be to list and catalogue such free possibilities for our clients.

V. *Continued searching inquiry* into the conditions, both economic and social, from which all these problems have come with a view to determining where we may expect to look for a way out. This is a big order, but if we do not look beneath the surface for the underlying causes of this economic breakdown, we can have nothing to offer except a very temporary shift for a few individuals.

From our experience we take issue with a recent report in the survey from one large city which begins with this gloomy picture of the woman without work: "Alone, unwanted by kith and kin, she is old and poorly habituated to a way of life that shifts between occasional diminishing employment and casual increasing charity." We maintain this is only a part of the picture which changes rapidly when provision is made for the unemployables by a pension system or some regularly constituted relief agency. When this is done the younger group fill up the vacuum and we find we have people who may be alone and shut off from kith and kin, but they are a group with many years ahead of them whom casual employment has discouraged and weighed down, and who need healing of body and soul as well as training of mind and hands. We may return them to society with renewed courage and work ability, or we may condemn them to permanent dependency by failing to see for them, and with them, a usefulness ahead for which they may be preparing.

RELATIVE RESPONSIBILITIES OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SOCIAL WORK

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SOME disillusioned reformer once remarked that the chief object of political philosophy seemed to be to find acceptable reasons for voluntarily yielding to the inevitable. One is forcibly reminded of this cynical dictum as one sets out to explore the political relations of modern social work in the hope of charting a rational, purposeful course for the future.

Viewed either in its contemporary context or in its historical backgrounds, the steadily increasing rôle of the state in social life generally, and in the conduct of social work specifically, bears much of the appearance of an irresistible, elemental force. It is not strange that there are strident voices abroad in the land, assuring us, some of them cheerfully and others quite ruefully, that the logical consummation of this movement, in a governmental monopoly of social services, is foreordained; that private social work is doomed; that professional leadership henceforth must be a function of statecraft exclusively, and that, therefore, it is the part of professional discretion to abandon forthwith the lazy habit of rationalizing the inevitable after the event and to come to grips with the present living reality.

There is a logical imperative about this prophecy that is arresting, as we face the confusions and pressures of this crucial period. We pause to ask ourselves whether it is actually true that a critical and selective intelligence is of no avail in the face of this predetermined necessity, whether more than one outcome is possible. Does the situation as it now exists, does past development as it has materialized, warrant only this one extremely logical deduction? Granting that the historic process is continuous and meaningful, is it as sternly simple and single in its operation as these prophets suggest?

A glance at our own American past suggests grave doubts. Public intervention in the social-welfare field has not been of a kind, either in purpose or in effect, that leads inevitably, or even probably, to governmental monopoly of service. Indeed, complete state absorption or annexation of private social work, or of any definable area of it, is without precedent anywhere. In those areas of service in which state intervention has approached most nearly toward complete monopolization, there has always remained a considerable sum of private individual and group activity which the government would not and could not supplant. In many of these areas, in fact, such private effort has grown rather than diminished after the state has taken hold of these tasks as its own. Three such fields afford ample illustration.

The problem of delinquency, its definition and treatment, comes first to mind. Not even in this, the oldest and most universal of all political functions, has the state anywhere exercised anything like exclusive control. The judicial function itself, the process of determining whether treatment shall be administered to the offender, and if so what treatment it shall be—than which nothing could be more vital to the very existence of the state—is actually shared in increasing measure today by agencies organized and administered by voluntary groups or by those so loosely related to the authority of the state as to be practically independent of it. The whole concept of professional responsibility for professional conduct under the law is an instance. Another striking illustration is afforded by the increasing authority exercised by those responsible for behavior and guidance clinics, in which the old distinction between delinquency and other forms of social maladjustment and abnormal behavior is being broken down. Through these agencies, by the processes of modern social work, in association with other independent professional services, problems formerly within the exclusive province of government are decisively diagnosed and treated outside the law, by private effort, with the sufferance and often the active support of the state. The fact is, here, that

the state, by force of circumstances and the advance of science, has been forced to recognize the superior value of social controls having sanctions different and less specific than its own.

Another significant area within which has appeared most clearly the trend to complete annexation by public authority of social functions initiated and once largely performed by private groups is that of the treatment of mental disease and defect. Within a century from the time when the state first undertook any special responsibility at all in this field, it has finally accepted practically everywhere a clear obligation to administer all necessary care and treatment of mentally ill and mentally deficient persons. That is surely progress toward governmental monopoly, marked by astonishing directness and dispatch. But here, again, there is no substantial evidence that private effort is really being eliminated. The boundary of the area for which the state assumes such responsibility is increasingly vague as the science of mental health and the art of treatment advance. The private practice of psychiatry, inside and outside of institutions, and the related practice of social work under a variety of private auspices, are rather on the increase than otherwise. Side by side with mammoth public institutions of diagnosis and treatment flourish private agencies, and while vast research and educational enterprises emanate from public sources, private leadership still thrives in the same field.

It is significant, furthermore, that in these two fields in which the threat—or, if you prefer, the promise—of governmental monopolization of social services seems to be most definite and progressive, the motive that has most strongly influenced public action is not one that leads naturally to maximum extensions of state activity, either in qualitative or in quantitative directions, but rather the opposite. It is principally the negative motive of fear. The state's intervention, to allay fear of personal harm or loss, is expressive of the most primitive and restricted concept of state function and social need—that of the police power in its limited sense. It has no logical relation to any concept of an expansive, socialized state such as that upon which rests the prophecy of inevitable public annexation of all social services.

The same is true of the third area of politico-social action which more recently has come to represent the supposedly typical tendency toward total absorption of private social work by the state. This is the great field of material relief, within which the state discharges one of its most venerable social responsibilities. The motivation that originally accounted for the acceptance of this responsibility, and which still plays its not inconsiderable part in the eager willingness of public authorities to maintain and extend its activity in this direction, is closely akin, paradoxical as it may seem, to that which led to the acceptance of public responsibility for the control of the felon and the "furiously mad." The fear, either of personal loss or of social disturbance and disunity, growing out of the unsatisfied elemental wants of vast numbers of dispossessed and distressed human beings, is definitely involved. It is not to be overlooked that the celebrated Elizabethan statutes that largely underlie the American tradition of public relief had their origin not so much in a deliberate, positive purpose to express collective responsibility for the fulfilment of legitimate social needs of particular human beings as in a long line of experimental efforts to suppress various forms of threatening behavior, like beggary, vagrancy, and petty depredations, that menaced the peace and security of the English towns.

And here, again, though the degree of public responsibility has steadily risen, private groups still function actively. Those, it is true, that maintain their existence most readily and are subject to least pressure to surrender their functions to the state are those that represent sectarian, racial, and other close-knit groups which express an almost familial sense of responsibility for their own; but where such group interests do exist on any basis, there is no indication of any diminution in their authority or in the scope of their action. They continue to thrive and to multiply alongside of agencies offering identical services in the name of the total community. The power and value of social initiatives and controls outside the state are still recognized and utilized.

I submit that in none of these three fields of public social ac-

tion is there a clear record of any consistent, compelling movement toward exclusive acceptance of collective responsibility for meeting the whole social need of all the members of the state.

During the last three-quarters of a century, it is true, these early negative and minimal governmental services have grown into far more positive and intensive activities, and they have been widely supplemented by other new and more constructive public social actions. Upon close examination, however, it appears that these developments represent no such vital change in social or political policy as to warrant the hope, or the fear, that public welfare activity will supplant private effort. Two of these significant movements command particular attention: the development of free public elementary schools, with the more recent extension into the realm of public recreation and adult education, and the movement for social legislation, especially the public control of those aspects of economic life which decisively affect the total social adjustment of individuals. The widespread establishment of permanent regulative and administrative public authorities in these fields, and in those of so-called charities and corrections, represents a new and positive expression of definite and continuing state responsibility for the welfare of all its citizens.

But parallel with these developments, and in large measure responsible for their creation and growth, was another significant characteristic movement of American life, which acted from the beginning and still does operate to limit the monopolistic power of the state in these and other fields. It is the trend to voluntary group organization within the state. It is well to remember that it was the voluntary, self-conscious organization of labor, designed to express more effectively its own particular interest in the growing complex of new social groupings after the industrial revolution, that first demanded and secured from the state the provision of free public elementary education. It was the continually growing contest between new and vigorous economic groups that stimulated and sustained the social legis-

lation of the last fifty years and brought into being the industrial commissions sanctioned by public authority. It was the swarm of unco-ordinated and highly individual and independent agencies of variegated social purposes representing a multiplicity of private groups that occasioned the creation of those boards of charities and corrections that marked the dawn of a new era of public action in the late sixties and seventies.

The significance of all this, it seems to me, lies in this: A democratic ferment of private organization and group life within the state is not on any logical basis the forerunner of permanent political centralization or domination. Groups that have sufficient vitality to protect and promote by self-organization values which are precious to them, and that have the power to move the government to recognize a permanent obligation to maintain a just and satisfying relationship between such groups, are strong enough also to retain a substantial measure of freedom for the pursuit of their own social ends by their own chosen routes.

In the realm of social work, in the narrower sense, the evolution of state control in the last fifty years lends itself clearly to this interpretation. The institution of regulation and co-ordination of social agencies as a state policy is as much a recognition of the growing volume and virility, the increasing complexity and expansion of private social work, as it is an acknowledgment of direct public responsibility for certain social tasks. It is, in fact, in a very real sense, the alteration of the trend of governmental intervention, away from total absorption of private social effort, toward the integration of private initiative with collective purpose, through public supervision and regulation.

To this new form of political intervention in social work was added in the recent period under consideration still another form which became a potent stimulus to private social endeavor. This is the policy of deliberately delegating to private groups, in partnership with the state, certain functions for which the state had already accepted some degree of ultimate or residual responsibility. Such a policy appears clearly in the field of child

welfare, but even more strikingly in the development of health services. The enormous multiplication of hospitals, dispensaries and other health agencies, under private leadership and control, which has marked the last fifty years in America, has taken place side by side with the enormous expansion of public health administration. Such public hospitals as have come into being in that time were largely the lineal descendants of the old pest-house and almshouse. They represented by no means a determination of the community to meet the whole health problem of modern urban industrial society through action by the total united community. They are integral elements in a policy which deliberately delegates to private institutions a considerable portion of health responsibility. This partition or delegation of public functions is a distinctive and substantial aspect of public social action in America during precisely that period when the development of public welfare services rose to its peak.

The historic fact, then, discernible in the record of American social life everywhere is simply this: The characteristic method of American political intervention in those aspects of life with which social work is concerned lacks any quality of monopolization, absorption, or exclusion of voluntary social service. State intervention has been slow, reluctant, negative, and regulative in character rather than positive or expansive. It has been permeated by undeviating adherence to a concept of democratic life that nurtured, rather than suppressed, individual and group initiative, and which found its logical expression in a consistent and constantly accelerated trend to voluntary group organization—a trend that continues unabated.

Nor do I believe that the experience of the last few years indicates any substantial alteration of this general course of our social and political theory and practice. The fundamental factors governing the growth of public service in the past are still active and are carrying us in the same direction.

What are those factors? First, fear—a negative, not a positive force; one that is not calculated to carry us far into aggressive and continuous governmental development. Second, the

growth of self-conscious minority groups, clustered about particular common interests, which seek to invoke a power greater than their own for the attainment and protection of particular values, but which resist to the death exclusion by the state from the essential right to pursue their own interests in their own ways. Third, the awakening of a new awareness of old needs, or the discovery of new wants, beyond the power of particular interested groups to provide for themselves, leading to pressure upon governmental authority to gather adequate resources through the exercise of its compulsive taxing power.

I submit that, however powerful these forces may appear at any moment of time, there is not in any of them, or in all together, the seed of a state so completely responsive to changing circumstances and so dominant in the lives of its citizens as to claim exclusive and total responsibility for social welfare leadership and activity. On the contrary, the record exhibits the definite outlines of a course of development and a division of responsibility, rooted in American tradition and appropriate to the American scene. Within this, by the application of constructive imagination to problems of organization and leadership and to the guidance of forces already at work, we can, if we will, attain the goal of all social action, the enrichment and fulfillment of all those, great and humble, that compose our society.

Such a welfare program will rest upon two elemental principles: first, a recognition of the rights of individual personality, a belief in, and respect for, the worth and dignity of individual human beings, which makes their need for wholesome, secure, adventurous, and growing life a first lien upon the total national wealth; second, a recognition that the pursuit of creative opportunities and satisfactions, in the affairs of the common life, through self-motivated and self-mastered individual and group activity, in addition to responsible participation in the affairs of the state, is an essential source not only of personal growth but of social unity and strength, through the replenishment of that insight and inspiration upon which the life of a democratic society depends.

The first principle necessitates the acceptance by the government, local, state, and national, each in its natural and appropriate sphere and all in one co-ordinated program, of definite responsibility for the effective guaranty of that continuous minimum protection and service of every individual which will maintain for him a level of life that sustains personal powers and permits effective participation in the community. Such guaranties cannot rest upon the voluntary co-operation of disconnected and unco-ordinated groups.

This means, specifically, the assurance by government of work, or the proceeds of work, under conditions that are healthful and satisfying, within relationships over which the individual exercises a share of co-operative control, for a compensation that represents a fair share of the product, and with continual protection against the main hazards of life, through forms of universal, compulsory social insurance. It means the provision by the state of services, in both material and intangible forms, to meet whatever needs may appear for the assistance of individual adjustment within those social relationships for which, as time passes, the community comes to feel a vital collective concern and responsibility. It means the guaranty by the state of such health protection, care, and treatment as, in the light of advancing knowledge, the community believes essential for the maintenance of effective living. It means, in general, the acceptance by the state of the same basic and ultimate responsibility for all these social services and opportunities that it now expresses in the field of elementary education, and on precisely the same conditions—not those of monopolization, but of collective guaranty of a national minimum of social well-being, to which the government pledges whatever may be ultimately required, in the interest of certainty, equality, and adequacy of service.

The second principle, on the other hand, demands, in the interest of a rich, expanding democratic social life, the acceptance by individuals, and by private voluntary groups, organized around common interests and mutual understanding, of respon-

sibility for initiative and for continual contact and co-operation with public authorities in the development and execution of public policies to these ends. This involves the critical and constructive appraisal of objectives and accomplishments, in terms consistent with sound social principles as these groups view such principles.

In the acceptance of this responsibility, groups of many kinds will continue to maintain, independently of all governmental control or support, a wide range of services, doubtlessly paralleling governmental services in the same areas. These will be available to those who for any reason seek private rather than public help, and for whom these special groups feel on any account a special interest or responsibility.

This involves, in both public and private spheres, the continual and diligent study of needs, both stable and emergent, with experimentation in method, and the continual exchange, on a level of professional confidence and co-operation, of the findings of such study and experience.

It means, of course, the establishment of social services in every field, public and private, upon a truly professional basis, with all that that implies of a solid sense of responsibility both to informed professional colleagues and to the community at large for the steady maintenance and advancement of standards of performance, based upon systematic study and tested experience.

Such an organization of responsibility for the promotion of the social welfare rests upon the fundamental assumption that under no rational concept of democratic government can there be a definite limit placed upon the nature or extent of the satisfactions men can seek for themselves through the use of their one common social instrument, the state. Assignment of responsibilities in terms of areas of need or types of service is fundamentally arbitrary and artificial.

Assuming, that is to say, a horizontal line, drawn from pole to pole of social need or of appropriate social service for the meeting of that need, I submit that there is no point on that

line at which, in the nature of things, on sound and permanent principle, the responsibilities of public and private social work can safely be divided. Both may safely and satisfactorily function at any point in the whole range of conceivable social operations, from the simplest, most routine, and most objective services to the most complicated, most delicate, and most flexible. This presupposes that the other primary conditions underlying sound service are at hand—awareness of need, acceptance of responsibility, and professional accountability for means and ends.

Such a concept denies the existence, in the nature of government, of any barrier to highly individualized and discriminating service of individual need, provided, and in so far as, the community itself recognizes the existence of that need for discriminating individualized treatment, and has confidence in the professional skill and integrity of the practitioners who minister to the need.

It denies the existence of any barrier to efficient social service at the highest possible level, in any inherent quality of the state, based on the fact of its universal accessibility or the uniform eligibility of its citizens for the services it offers.

It denies any differentiation of standards between public and private service, based on any inherent element of political structure itself. The presence of what we call "politics," of inadequate leadership and unprofessional conduct in public office, it attributes to the inadequate mechanisms for citizen stimulation and participation. The corrective for this state of affairs is not in the continued separation of public and private life, but in their integration, through the active, responsible participation of voluntary groups in those areas where vital common interests exist and which therefore enlist active, alert, and self-motivated co-operation. It is through such group experience, meaningful and responsible, that political life can be cleansed and vitalized at its source. It cannot be purified by the elimination of spontaneous personal action in the pursuit of social purpose.

From those who cheerfully accept the thesis that the state is not on the road to monopolization of social services is sometimes heard the opposite contention, that, in the nature of things, government has an inherent incapacity for effective service in any part of the field. An interesting theoretical question, affecting certain fundamental concepts involved in modern social-work philosophy, is here raised and may warrant a word of interpretation.

Social work has found its most solid and most valid principle of operation in a realization that personality grows and changes and achieves its adjustment with life from inner motivations, not from external compulsions; that the achievement of social fitness is attained by way of choices and decisions that people make for themselves, not through those imposed upon them. Voluntary co-operation between individuals, under conditions that leave both free to accept or reject alternatives, to face limitations and differences, without loss of integrity or respect—this is surely the heart of modern social-work principle and practice.

In the state is found the inherent and fundamental concept of ultimate authority and compulsion. The question is raised, then: Can the state render social services on a basis that sustains this central philosophy of our professional task as we have come to conceive it?

May I suggest two possible answers to that question. In the first place, for the social worker associated with the state, there is always the possibility, built of sound understanding and appreciation, of facing the limitation represented by the existence of this potential compulsive authority, both in herself and with the client, in a way that minimizes, if it does not remove, the threat which it might otherwise represent to the maintenance of constructive and helpful relationships on the highest possible level.

For the community there is always the possibility, through the growing recognition of the limitation of force as a constructive element in social life, of clothing the state with a character,

in its mechanism and in its processes, and especially in its personnel, that minimizes its compulsive aspect and magnifies, in fact and in theory, its co-operative quality. The state can, if we will it, in the overwhelming preponderance of its social operations, be symbolized truly by the traffic policeman on the corner—making possible by leadership and co-operation the attainment of our common ends—instead of bearing, as it does in our traditional thinking, the character of the dark-lantern detective, attaining by stealth and force a temporary and precarious social safety.

The future of social work, wherever it is practiced, depends upon the degree of unity it can achieve, based upon its own positive philosophy, constructive purpose, and mastery of its own processes. For upon this unity, buttressed by a powerful sense of professional responsibility, will depend in the last analysis the community's appreciation and use of social work, skills, and insights. The allocation of function and responsibility between public and private agencies will then become a problem of practical statesmanship, subject finally to the pragmatic tests of experience, devoid of some of the philosophical confusions that now engulf it.

LAY PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL WORK: NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE VOLUNTEER

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OUT of the emergency situations of these last five years there is developing a new relationship between professional social workers and volunteers. The two most significant implications of the new relationship are perhaps increased opportunities for lay participation and an ever deepening appreciation on the part of these lay workers of the objectives of social work, of its fundamental philosophy, and of the skill and capacities demanded of its professional leadership. Just now, when even the most casual lay observer is searching beneath surface effects for fundamental causes, the dreams of our social engineers are perhaps appreciated more adequately than ever before, and we are glimpsing those principles of economic and social changes which are fundamental in the whole social-work idea.

In speaking of volunteers I am thinking of the average lay group, women for the larger part, because it is women who have more leisure and freedom for active participation. In stressing the lacks of this group—lacks which they themselves are realizing and are anxious to overcome—I do not refer to that large group of laymen, men and women, who through the years have given such magnificent and sustained service to the cause of social programs. Their devotion, their great vision, and their leadership in interpreting social ideals command the admiration of us all. There is, however, that other group, those of us who are eager to play some part but who through lack of understanding or lack of guidance have yet so much to learn. No one perhaps sees more clearly than an interested lay person the tre-

mendous handicap which many volunteers have been to those busy professionals who have organized and guided our social programs. Too frequently the volunteer's interest has been a purely seasonal matter, fluctuating with vacations, interruptions, and social distractions, and implying that total lack of responsibility which has been the despair of professional workers.

The most unfortunate result of this situation has been the fact that the average volunteer was intrusted with only the most rudimentary and unimportant tasks, largely matters of routine—totally detached from any educational experience or any glimpse of general objectives. The professional, justly, grew both impatient and intolerant, with a resultant increase in the apathy of the volunteer and the disgust of the trained worker. The gradual *rapprochement* of these two elements involves an entirely new relationship based on sympathy, tolerance, and increasing realization of new opportunities for cooperation. While the volunteer appreciates what a definite liability she has been in the past, it is heartening to see our professional leaders mellowing in their own attitude and developing a more sympathetic and less critical reaction to the lay worker. While a splendid start has been made in this new relationship, there still remain many gaps to be filled and many needs to be met with patience and understanding. In the new perspective which has been revealed the volunteer appreciates as never before the generosity and the sympathy of these busy professionals who, under terrific pressure in a time of dire stress, have shown such patience in directing their well-meant but blundering energies. Volunteers, however, see more and more the need of education—an understanding of at least the fundamentals of the philosophy and technique of modern social work. It seems unfortunate that in any case it is possible for enthusiasm and energy to be concentrated on a specific point without any attempt being made to relate this specialized activity to the whole field of social work and to the community situation as it exists.

Lay participation is most significant perhaps through three general types of action: (1) actual activity in social-work programs; (2) board membership in social agencies; (3) the creation of an enlightened lay attitude. The intelligent volunteer realizes that she can never replace a trained worker, but as her own understanding develops she is increasingly eager to approach her problems intelligently and adequately. Perhaps it is possible for her to do a specific job well and perhaps in the stress of emergency there is no one available to relate her specialized activity to a larger field, but it seems a tragic waste of potential leadership when volunteer interest is not carried beyond these immediate tasks. Much is being done, we know, through committees on volunteers and through placement bureaus to solve this problem, but in many communities and in many agencies there is as yet no attempt to develop in volunteer workers an appreciation of the general field of social work. Following this understanding of social objectives, it would seem that the next essential would be a critical attitude toward the local community situation and at least a rudimentary knowledge of the strengths and weaknesses of its social programs. This implies, of course, an intelligent understanding of existing laws, of state and city appropriations, and of the whole background of social-work functions.

A great many volunteers today are themselves seeking and devising means whereby this form of education can be made available. It happens that the organization of which I am president—the Association of Junior Leagues of America—has for the last few years been devoting a large part of its budget to a program of education which has as its primary objective the development of an enlightened lay attitude as the first essential to efficient volunteer service. Many volunteers too, stimulated by their new opportunities and by their contacts with leaders in social work, are themselves enrolling in social-work schools or are organizing classes for further education.

While board membership has been far less affected by our present exigencies than has the tenor of volunteer activity, our

new thinking suggests that here, too, there is special need for education. All of us realize how frequently board members are selected because of enthusiasm for specialized fields and because both personal and financial co-operation are involved. This is all very well as far as it goes, but in many instances it implies the cultivation of a blind side to other essential agencies in the community and especially to the interrelationship of community needs and social-work programs. In questions of budgets, especially in these times when our community chests have suffered drastic cuts, it is an unfortunate situation when agencies present their claims in intense rivalry without any appreciation of the interdependence of essential community forces. The pity of it is that so many board members are eager to be fair and liberal but lack the grasp of fundamentals and the perspective necessary to a constructive viewpoint. All of us perhaps have sat on boards newly organized and have seen the intense pre-occupation with by-laws frequently so worded that the authority of the professional worker is carefully curtailed, while the actual functioning of the programs involved is delayed and hampered. So much of this sort of thing is unintentional and so much of it could be avoided by a minimum of education.

At the other extreme there are those boards who meet affably and smilingly, with such complete faith in the executive that no suggestions of any sort are forthcoming. This, of course, is a decided tribute to the professional worker, but he himself realizes that it is dangerous, especially when a new piece of pioneering is desired or when he needs definite qualities of leadership in the members of his board. I can well realize how trained workers, even in situations of complete harmony, would hesitate to suggest educational programs for members of a board. The move, it would seem, must come from the lay side of the picture, and in these strenuous times board members naturally hesitate to make further demands on their sorely pressed executives. If a solution is possible, however, it is likely to simplify immeasurably the problem of the professional and to stimulate the effectiveness of the governing body. As valu-

able as enthusiasm and deep personal interest can be in the growth and development of an agency, only too often it implies the less desirable accompaniment of prejudice and partisanship. How far more useful board members can be if their vision extends far beyond the projects of the specific agency and encompasses an integrated and co-ordinated picture of an entire community situation. In the final analysis, perhaps the finest contribution which the lay worker can evolve is the creation of an intelligent public opinion.

Our present-day programs are aiding immeasurably in the education of lay groups, for we are all beginning to think back of the changes going on about us and to appreciate the elementary facts of cause and effect and the need of a planned society. Our social workers can at last sit by and see some of those social ideals for which they have struggled so long being incorporated almost overnight into our political and economic fabric. The present task is so gigantic that many of us perhaps will never fully appreciate all its implications, but an enlightened public is developing through our general participation in these vast programs. Through it all, however, is brought home to us more and more vividly the need of education. The mobilization for human needs, state campaigns for legislation, demands for proper budgeting for social-work programs—all have had to overcome emphasis on relief and make a plea for those constructive forces on which our civilization depends. It seems tragic, indeed, that in our present situation so much time and effort must be expended in presenting the basic and elementary needs of humanity to an erstwhile apathetic and callous citizenship. Again we agree that so much of it is not deliberate indifference but rather a mistaken complacency or simple ignorance. If, however, the new type of volunteer can evolve through her contacts and opportunities her own convictions, her own faiths, and an increasing sense of personal obligation, the task of our social engineers will be immeasurably lightened. We realize more than ever the struggle which the social-work profession has had to wage for recognition, for standards, for co-operation; and this

struggle is still going on. Sectionalism, prejudice, local pride, ignorance, and the fear of exploitation from the outside are still obstacles which must be overcome. In many instances the professional, through tact and great skill in human relationships, has succeeded in overcoming opposition and has developed a splendid community feeling. On the other side of the picture, however, antagonisms have increased until the breach has been widened beyond repair. There still exists also the feeling in many quarters that any well-intentioned, kindly person is a potential social worker. Hand in hand with this belief is the attitude that in philanthropy salary standards have no place; apparently there is no realization of the investment of time, of funds, and of self in the education of our trained leaders. And even in many localities where standards are being appreciated and constructive programs exist, there are still duplication, prejudice, and rivalry between institutions and agencies. The need for impersonal, objective thinking and for intelligent, co-ordinated planning is an obligation which must be accepted by our laymen.

These laymen, however, through increasing volunteer opportunities are acquiring a new appreciation of the value of training, a new respect for the experience and authority of the professional, and a new enthusiasm for the promise of a social order based on certain fundamentals. And it is not too much to hope that volunteers themselves have a definite contribution to make. Just as in the last generation, before there were schools of social work, there were those pioneers who out of their great vision and great devotion evolved our first social programs, so perhaps we may find in our lay groups those creative and vital elements which may add very definitely to the whole field of social work. Our social engineers we must have, and we know how lost we should be without their guidance; but with their help and through our new understanding perhaps we may play our part in the creation of a new order. Perhaps we, too, may see the whole picture of a civilized humanity in which personal responsibility for effective group thinking and group action will help us all to the realization of a happier world.

LAY PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL WORK AS IT AFFECTS THE PUBLIC AGENCY

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VOLUNTEER work has been practiced in private agencies for many years. In fact, the original concept of the private agency was an organization of volunteers. It was only later that the professional worker was considered a part of this concept. While a satisfactory division of labor between the professional and the volunteer has not always been worked out, it still is an entirely co-operative venture.

This has not been so in the public field. Public health and probation work have included for a good many years volunteer service, and during the last few years in the emergency work for the unemployed, volunteers have contributed service to the recently developed public agencies. Some public agencies have experimented especially along these lines—such as Houston, Dallas, Buffalo, Nashville, Denver, Columbus, Detroit, Louisville, New York City, and Westchester County, New York. Some objections and difficulties—such as lack of leadership, understanding as to the limitations of public work on the part of some of the volunteers, and impatience at necessary red tape—have been found, but on the whole comparatively few public agencies which have encouraged lay participation have not found it helpful.

With the passing of the emergency period in the organization of unemployment relief, the question is raised whether or not to continue volunteer work as a desirable feature of a more permanent set-up, or whether volunteer work is only particularly usable in disaster situations and is limited to temporary service during catastrophes.

A brief survey of methods of volunteer service in public

agencies developed through more than three-quarters of a century in another country might contribute some ideas to the solution of this problem. I am referring to the German tradition of using large numbers of volunteers. There, as in other countries, there is a possibility for three different types of service: lay participation in an advisory capacity as board members of public agencies, as consultant specialists, and for direct and continued service to individuals and families.

The German systems of organizing volunteers for public work, internationally known as the Elberfeld and the Strassburg plans, are in the main concerned with the last function—that of continued service to individuals and families. In both systems the volunteers are organized in neighborhood committees under volunteer chairmen. The total of these committees covers the entire area of a community, and each committee deals with social service to be rendered in its immediate neighborhood. The main charge of the volunteers is the care of dependent families and children in foster-homes under public guardianship. Every volunteer member of such a committee assumes practically full responsibility for the clients assigned to him, working in close contact with his neighborhood committee and the professional staff of the public agency.

Neighborhood committees meet regularly once a month and discuss policies and individual cases with visitors from the public agency. Each volunteer is allowed to carry only a very restricted case load of not more than four families in the original set-up. While some participation by respected citizens, mostly business men, was quite usual and traditional in the public social work carried on by the German cities in the early part of the last century, the new idea introduced by the mayor of Elberfeld in 1853 centered around the organization of small and numerous neighborhood committees and the restriction of case loads so as really to safeguard personal contacts with clients.

This innovation helped to cut the cost of poor-relief in the city of Elberfeld more than 50 per cent within the first six months of its operation and was quite in accord with our present

conviction that ultimately individualized work is more economical than the mass approach.

The main difference between the Elberfeld plan and the Strassburg system is in the relative standing of the professional worker as compared to the volunteer. In the Elberfeld system the work of the paid staff of the public agency was more or less confined to clerical tasks and accounting, representing the office end of the volunteer social service units. Later developments proved the need for a certain amount of professional service. Professional workers representing the public agency were made members of the volunteer neighborhood committees and in some cases the chairmen. These committees selected cases to be transferred to the charge of the volunteer, and transfers were made more and more on the basis of the individual qualifications of the volunteer for the specific service needed instead of on purely geographical considerations.

While the Elberfeld system left the entire intake to the volunteer groups, the Strassburg system allowed the intake to be handled by the professional staffs. A large percentage of selected cases, rather than the entire case load of the agencies, was placed under the care of volunteers. In both these systems the volunteers as individuals and the volunteer neighborhood units had a legal status in the public agency's set-up. The volunteers were appointed unpaid officers of the city council and the neighborhood units functioned as sub-bureaus of the public agencies, with offices in the home of each neighborhood chairman.

In the more modern form of the Strassburg method lay participation has survived all changes in legislation and administration in German communities. In most cities the volunteer staff of the public agency is approximately three times the size of the paid staff. Members of the volunteer staffs are, to a large extent, men and women of mature age. Many are retired business or professional men, or mothers of adult children who find profitable use for their leisure time in doing social service. They are appointed for terms of service varying from three to six

years, but very frequently continue such service for several decades.

Volunteers consider their service as a public function and are listed as honorary officers in the official statements of the various cities. It is evident that the type of service just described is very closely related to the German concept of government as an organized representation of civic efforts—a responsibility shared by many full-time and part-time workers, salaried and non-salaried. The fundamental approach is very different from the tradition in this country where, up to recent times, government has been considered somewhat of an evil to be tolerated and consequently limited as much as possible.

A close scrutiny of the trends of development of lay responsibility in Germany may bring out some points which have bearing upon present-day problems. As to the functions of volunteer workers, it seems to me that services have been successfully integrated because the volunteer's job was distinctly different from that of the professional. Close and continued contact and consultation on the basis of friendly visiting was considered the type of service which should not be assigned to the professional, paid staff of a public agency. The ever present need for economy and the responsibility of the public agency toward its supporters to render the best service to the community, as such, with the least expenditure have restricted the professional worker's function to directing volunteer activities, supplementing them by specialized service and concentrating on major service cases only, or on such parts of the intake, diagnosis, and treatment which seem to call specifically for the trained person. Volunteers have not been asked to substitute in any of the functions considered the field of the professional worker or in the clerical service. They were not expected to give a definite block of time at regular hours.

This reserve has helped to safeguard professional and clerical jobs even in emergency times, and has allowed for a wider range of applicants for volunteer service. The recognized standing of the volunteer as a definite member of the public agency

has made recruiting comparatively easy. Yet to attract the truly socially minded person interested in human beings and anxious to serve them has called for continuous effort and study. Three main groups have stood out as most helpful in finding the right kind of volunteers: (1) organized labor, (2) organized women, (3) private social agencies.

Men and women from the working class interested in civic betterment and social service meeting the needs of the groups they understood and represented have contributed a great deal toward changing the thought and approach of social work, through being volunteer members of neighborhood units. Incidentally, the underlying idea of client participation has been worked out through their activities to a certain extent in a rather organic way. The integration of labor into the neighborhood committees has proved to be a very decided step forward in vitalizing the work.

Clubs and associations of business and professional women, as well as home-makers, have sent thousands of volunteers year after year into the public agencies for devoted and outstanding service. Very frequently they found this relationship to be of mutual benefit, since it helped to widen the scope of interest of the members and introduced many important issues into the associations' activities.

Private social agencies were also benefited by having their members participate in the public program in large numbers all over the country. Many problems of local co-operation and of the division of functions between public and private agencies were gradually solved by the very fact that workers were mingling in common experiences and close daily contacts. The constituencies of the private agencies frequently brought open minds, flexibility, and freshness of approach into the public set-up, while the public agency's experience in meeting the complexities of mass needs offered a challenge to revise traditional methods and functions of the private agencies with whose policies they had been identified for years.

Public agencies, as much as private organizations, owe to the

volunteers an introduction to the problems they are going to face and some help in selecting their methods of approach. All through the years it has been proved to be of even more outstanding importance that the public agency have responsible workers to direct continuously the volunteer's service and to help him relate his experiences and interpret them in their wider implications. Only if this help is carried on in a planned way will the volunteer be able to serve as the agency's interpreter to the community. Not the least important part of the professional staff's function will be to develop methods of wisely supplementing the volunteer's service by direct, or preferably indirect, skilled service whenever a client's situation calls for the specified skill of the trained person. Yet many professional workers have learned that this supplementation is not needed as frequently as they may expect and would readily agree with Mary Richmond's statement that the ability to turn to good account the services of the relatively untrained is the supreme test of a trained worker. Also, that the higher the standards of professional service, the more good friendly visitors there will be.

Possibly schools of social work might render a distinct service to social work at large and especially to the public agency by imbuing the students with the wisdom of this spirit and awakening the ambition of professional workers to live up to it.

Looking back over various experiments and experiences in integrating volunteer and professional work, it seems to me that public agencies should consider it a permanent need and part of their permanent function for three main reasons: (1) in order to achieve the highest standard of service in a truly economical way; (2) to organize continuous interpretation and safeguard community support; (3) to help develop a feeling of community responsibility and social approach beyond the immediate necessities of organized social work.

The problem of individual and personal service to clients can probably not be solved in any wiser way than by mobilizing and directing all vital forces in the community for just this

service. Thus it will be secure even in times of sharp budget cuts and lay-offs, or appalling mass needs calling for tremendous relief expenditures when taxpayers are least ready to meet them. Widespread and organized volunteer co-operation, preferably on the basis of neighborhood units, helps to check waste and increases the efficiency of relief-giving by adding constructive personal service. It helps the community to understand some of the needs and the methods of social service. Not only do the volunteers, but also their families and friends, become intelligent and gradually acquire enough factual material to build up what all agencies need so desperately—an intelligent constituency ready to act as a defense group, if occasion arises, ready to help support through taxes or voluntary contributions the service of the public agency, of which they are a part, and the work of private agencies which they feel to be essential to an integrated community program.

Beyond these immediate values for the sake of which the public agency may well cultivate the volunteer, many will be ready to accept a wider challenge. May we not visualize the public agency as a means of service not only to such clients as at the moment are in need, but to the members of the community at large? Is there not a very deep need for better human relations, more understanding of human problems, in all fields of public and private activity, in industry, in education, in legal action, and in family relationships?

May not generations of volunteers from all walks of life, of all ages, and under the direction of professional workers with experience and vision grow into a tremendous instrument for the good of the community and make it a better place in which to live?

This seems to me to be the ultimate challenge to the truly social public agency in its relation to the volunteer: to function as an active part of a government which does not desire greater control under the law but aims to develop progressively greater leadership and co-operation among all citizens.

THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL JUSTICE IN THE LIGHT OF TODAY

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OUR ideals of justice are not constant but change from period to period. Feudalism aimed to perpetuate status, and to maintain the position of the owners of land, or the nobility. Justice in the feudal state was designed to perpetuate these ends and institutions. Capitalism developed as a philosophy among hard-working burgers who wanted to be let alone by the landed nobility and the church and, instead, given the opportunity to contract and sell freely, and to have no limits placed upon their possible acquisition of wealth. This was justified in the writings of Adam Smith and others as the only means whereby the natural laws of economics could triumph, and as the method whereby the social good would be best furthered by having each man work only for himself.

In the beginning there was great generosity and idealism in this demand to be let alone. Jefferson, in drafting the Declaration of Independence, declared that men had a natural right not only for life and liberty but also for "the pursuit of happiness"—an addition which the present-day conservatives seem almost unanimously to forget. The advocates of a free capitalism were also earnest workers for free speech, a free press, and the right of free assemblage. There was even a strong pacifistic urge among many of the earlier capitalists, as represented by such men as John Bright and Richard Cobden, which led Herbert Spencer to prophesy the replacement of militarism by the advance of industrialism.

Not only was this philosophy idealistic in its ardent youth, but it was also adapted to its times. For when the new philosophy started, handicraft was predominant; little capital was needed

to start in business, and enterprise was on a small scale. Then, in the main it was true that it was relatively easy for men of ability to rise and that men succeeded materially in a rough proportion to their energy and talents.

But as technology and capitalism developed, the let-alone philosophy of justice became progressively more and more a caricature of the real situation, while its emotional arteries hardened at a cumulative rate. For the amounts of capital required to enter most lines of business became so great that in general only the wealthy could afford to enter them. Those who were born handicapped by poverty were largely condemned to continue as manual workers, or at the most as foremen and lower officials in the business hierarchy. That this is not idle rhodomontade is evidenced by facts that the Federal Trade Commission¹ disclosed a few years ago in an investigation of 184,000 estates in 22 selected counties in 14 states. This showed that the upper 1 per cent of the estates included 59 per cent, and the upper 2 per cent of the total 70 per cent, of the total property bequeathed, and that the lower 76 per cent of the estates included only 5 per cent of the total wealth passed on. Even though it is true that the relative distribution of the estates of the dead is not a perfect measure of the distribution of the wealth of the living, these results indicate an extraordinary degree of concentration, in which the wealthiest 1 per cent own, on the average, approximately eight hundred times as much as the poorest 70 per cent. Substantially similar results have also been indicated by prewar studies, summarized by Dr. W. S. King for Great Britain, Germany, and France.²

The distribution of income is not, of course, so unequal; but if one works over the statistics of the National Bureau of Economic Research on the personal distributions of incomes in 1919, it develops that the upper 2 per cent, or those who in 1919 received over \$5,000 a year, obtained 72 per cent of all surplus

¹ *National Wealth and Income*, p. 59.

² *The Wealth and Income of the People of the United States*, pp. 87-105.

incomes over \$2,000 a year.³ When to all these figures we add the startling but accurate analysis of Berle and Means in their book, *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*, which showed that the two hundred largest corporations in the country, each with gross assets of \$90,000,000 or over, controlled in 1930⁴ 49 per cent, or virtually one-half of the assets of all non-financial corporations, a percentage which, I am informed by Dr. Means, has since increased to 55 per cent, we get a picture of how economic power in America is wielded by a comparative few. After all, it is a relatively small class in our society that controls the mills, mines, factories, railways, power companies, banks, the press, and radio, and still largely sets the patterns of life and thought for the people of the country.

It is small wonder, then, that this class should believe so ardently in the early shibboleths which arose when our present industrial system was young, and when its members were seeking to overthrow the feudal control of the landed interests. For if the government will but refrain from action, the powerful few, through their economic power and their control of the points of vantage, will not only be able to maintain themselves in power but to add to it. Those who have only labor to sell, and whose reserves are low, will be forced in the main to sell their labor at terms which are relatively disadvantageous to themselves, and relatively advantageous to those who own industry; while through combinations consumers can be forced to pay unduly high prices.

But the economically dominant classes are not the thorough-going anarchists which we might believe from their opposition to legislation in behalf of the common man. For if the workers become too menacing because of their organization, then the courts and the state are appealed to by the powerful in the effort to prevent the workers from exercising those powers of group pressure which the owners of industry, because of eco-

³ *Income in the United States*, I, 134-37; see also Honore Hoyt, *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, March, 1923, pp. 650 ff.

⁴ Pp. 18-28.

conomic concentration, are strong enough to wield. Similarly, while the leaders of this group commonly oppose, in language based on apparently immutable principles, governmental action in behalf of the manual workers, they never seem averse to governmental measures which will save them from a loss. For business generally seems avid for tariffs, subsidies, and lucrative contracts; while if losses can be taken off their hands by the government, such as by purchase of the Cape Cod Canal and loans by the R.F.C. to banks, insurance companies, and railways, business leaders seem to be able to subordinate their supposedly rigid principles against state aid.

Such, then is the background of power and of the dominant philosophy in the world about us. There are paradoxes and startling contrasts which should awaken even the most lethargic. Poverty and widespread unemployment exist in the midst of potential abundance, there are extraordinary inequalities in wealth and income, an apparently invincible war system flourishes at the very time when the verbal protestations of a belief in peace were never higher, while there is waste and lost motion on every hand. Finally, there is the corruption of moral standards, of politics, and even more of business life, by the passion to get rich at any cost and thus attain the social approval of a society which calls itself Christian, and would therefore be presumed by those who did not know it to value character more than material possessions.

The period needs a satirist like Voltaire to show the discrepancy not only between our nominal ideals and our practices but also between the great possibilities of our civilization and its many tawdry failures. But along with satire there is a need also for the crystallization of general social ideals, or a people's bill of rights which shall have vitality. To that end I should therefore like to suggest the following sets of principles:

I. MAN HAS THE RIGHT TO BE TREATED AS AN END

Production, economic systems, and political and social institutions are always merely means to this end and never ends in

themselves. This is a fundamental, if a somewhat trite, principle which is frequently violated both in thought and in action. Thus, during the early part of this depression, many thought it wicked to feed the unemployed from state funds because it was believed that this would undermine the system of rugged individualism, which was to be held sacred at all costs. Then for a further space of time the localities were compelled to stagger under this burden and to give grossly inadequate relief because it was believed that federal grants would violate the principle of local responsibility, which was held most dear. Throughout the whole gloomy period of the last four and a half years, there have been large sections of the more comfortable classes who have agreed to relief only because by removing the pangs of hunger it lessened or removed the fear of revolution with its threat to their property. Whenever it has been proposed that a barter-and-trade system should be set up, whereby factories might be leased and the unemployed put to work producing for each other, powerful opposition has arisen on the ground that by making this group self-sufficient they would purchase less from private trade.

These objectors preferred, therefore, that the unemployed should be kept miserable, lest by improving their position they should somewhat diminish their present scanty purchases from the privately run industries. This was interestingly enough illustrated by the egregious Dr. Wirt, when he testified before the Bulwinkle committee and denounced the subsistence homestead plans of the government as "communistic," and therefore as sinister, because they aimed to produce "a richer life" and to enable families who now could not do so to support themselves. It is also illustrated by the opposition of real estate interests to slum clearance and housing projects, because of their fear that they will increase the total number of apartments and thus decrease their rents. These groups would keep the people penned up in slums and living in shanties in order that all existing properties, however inadequate, may continue to draw as large an income as possible.

In truth, the roots of this tendency to treat human beings merely as means goes back at least as far as Plato, who thought of abstract ideas as the only reality and conceived the whole as very different from, and infinitely more important than, the sum of its parts, and who would have been quite content to have the individuals in his state unhappy if the state as such was unified and strong. It is pervasively characteristic of most militarists who are oblivious of the human suffering which war involves as long as it creates a mystical identification of the individual with the nation, and as long as the abstract glory and the comparative power of the nation are enhanced. We see it constantly in the loyalties of people to obsolescent institutions which have long since outlived their usefulness, but which stubbornly refuse to die and release the energies of their members for a longer life. It is evidenced also—as anyone who has read Sumner's *Folkways* or Thomas' *Source Book for Social Origins* will realize—by the rigid way in which societies frequently compel individuals blindly to accept and conform to social customs which may have had their roots in pure chance, in ignorance, or in an early adaptation to a situation which has since been radically altered.

We also see it frequently in the obstinate devotion of men and women to some particular "ism." I have already spoken of the way in which the devotees of capitalism so commonly make the maintenance of their system the primary end and treat men as only secondary. But the same tendency is not absent from their more radical brethren. For there are some communists who are so enamored with the complete theoretical outline of their system that they would be willing to force people into it in a mechanical way, as visitors to the castle of Procrustes were forced to accept his bed of a fixed length and were chopped off if they were too long and stretched out if they were too short.

All of these tendencies are the marks of fanaticism, which in its essence consists indeed of just this habit of treating human beings as incidents, and of Platonism, and it is high time that humanity avoided both. Immanuel Kant is certainly a better guide in these matters than Plato, and it was he who said that

we should treat humanity, whether in ourselves or in another, always as an end, and never as a means. It was this principle which Bentham and the Utilitarians sought, however imperfect their understanding, in the reformation of legislation, penology and commercial policy, and which Comte tried to promote in his positivism. Fundamentally, this principle is the very essence of true humanism. The welfare of humanity is the goal, and it should be the test by which all institutions, customs, and ideas of social policy and morality need to be treated. Such a standard should not, of course, be confined to the first person singular, and it should look forward to encompass the future as well as the present, but it is a measuring-stick which needs constantly to be applied. Certainly if it were used sincerely and then acted upon with fidelity, many of our present-day institutions such as war, excessive nationalism, and state worship, and such beliefs as a rigid adherence to *laissez faire* in all matters political and economic, would change.

It is not enough, however, to lay down the principle that people are ends and not means, for what the modern age wishes to know is how these ends may be served.

2. MANKIND HAS THE RIGHT TO BE WELL BORN

It is sometimes humorously remarked that while we can choose our friends, we cannot choose our relatives. This will always be an involuntary affair, but we can decrease the number who, born of feeble-minded parents, lead miserable and stupid lives. There are few of us, I take it, who believe that feeble-minded men and women should be allowed to interbreed, as they have and are still doing, and thus poison the life-stream. Since feeble-mindedness seems to be a biologically recessive trait, we cannot expect to eliminate it speedily by merely preventing those who are at present feeble-minded from breeding, for it can continue to crop out from the marriages of normal persons who have these recessive traits in their genes. But by this method we can diminish the number of the feeble-minded, and in the course of time reduce them to very much smaller proportions.

In determining what standards should be used to prevent this interbreeding, society should, of course, be extremely cautious. If intelligence tests are used, the standard should not be set too high, and probably should not cull out more than 3 or 4 per cent of the population. If criminals are to be sterilized, this should not be done until a person has been convicted at least three times. Hopeless syphilitics should also probably be barred from having children. Under no conditions, however, should persons be sterilized because of their beliefs or social attitudes, although this will be an ever present temptation for dictatorships and tyrannies.

3. THE RIGHT TO HEALTH

Samuel Butler in *Erewhon* somewhat whimsically proposed that illness should be treated as a crime, while persons afflicted with bad attacks of immorality should merely be confined to a hospital until they were cured. The truth of the matter is, however, at present, that disease and low vitality are to only a small degree the fault of those who suffer from them. Some of it is inevitable, while bad housing, an inadequate diet, insufficient recreation, excessive work, worry, and an inability to pay for adequate medical attention account for most of the remainder. Many of these latter difficulties are traced back to poverty and could be removed by its elimination. But even before poverty is eliminated, however, much can be done. Can we not all agree that all persons should be entitled to medical attention even though they cannot afford to pay for it under the present disorganized system of medical care? The expense of a severe illness is too great for the small proportion who experience it at any one time, and the income of the vast majority of Americans is insufficient to permit them to make sufficient provision in advance to meet such contingencies. But there can be no doubt but that the income of the American people as a whole is sufficient to meet the necessary costs of medical attention and hospitalization.

We should move, therefore, as speedily as possible to a system of social insurance which will provide physical examina-

tions, medical care, including dental and surgical attention, and at least a limited period of hospitalization to those who need it. The pooling of small contributions will thus make it possible for the group to provide protection for the stricken individuals in a way they could not provide for themselves. Incidentally, this would also bring a greater volume of work and a much larger total income to the medical profession itself, as well as enable the doctors to concentrate upon what should be the primary passion of their profession, namely, the prevention of disease and the healing of the sick. Those in this profession who insist that nothing shall be done to provide those who need it with a more sensible system of medical care do their group a great disservice, and it is to be hoped that the majority of the doctors will see the light and will work for a system in which they can really function for the maximum social benefit.

Health insurance of this nature, to which ultimately some cash benefits should be attached, as a partial compensation for lost earnings, is then a necessity. To supplement it, however, we also need the abolition of slum housing in both city and country, the medical inspection of children in the public schools, and balanced school lunches for those who are not fed properly at home. We need also prenatal and postnatal work through our health departments for mothers and children, and a reduction in our shockingly high rate of maternal mortality.

4. THE RIGHT TO KNOWLEDGE

No nation gives as much support superficially to the pursuit of knowledge as the United States. Our universal system of public education, crowned as it is with state universities at the top, has more students, both absolutely and in proportion to population, than any other similar educational system in the world. This educational system had its roots in noble purposes. Since we had established a political democracy and were gradually working ourselves clear of property qualifications for the franchise, free public education became a necessity, so that those who had the ballot might know better how to use it.

Through the schools, also, the able children of the poor and submerged were to be given the opportunity to rise and to fill the posts to which their abilities would entitle them, and, thus, presumably, make possible that equality of opportunity which has always been one of the vital features in the true American tradition. Finally, it was felt that knowledge and appreciation of the best of all the ages—whether in the form of history, literature, aesthetics, philosophy, or science—was not the exclusive property of the well-to-do, but was also to be available for the common man.

The spirit which was originally designed to breathe through these schools was one of freedom. For it was this which Jefferson sought all his life in politics, economics, and education, and the grounds for which he well summarized by saying that "I fear not error as long as truth be left to combat it."

It is indeed fortunate for us that we have such traditions, but if we compare our achievements with those goals, we must confess to extraordinary failures and defeats. Our common schools seem at times merely to make the mass of our people sufficiently literate so that they may become highly susceptible to the high-powered propaganda of special interests, and to the chronic brainstorms of the gutter press. Our high schools are all too often merely social centers for juveniles where both the teaching and the intellectual life are flaccid affairs. Our universities, colleges, and normal schools, with nearly a million students, have not produced scholars who in either quantity or quality are equal to those in Great Britain, with a university enrolment of only one-twentieth of ours. Teaching and research, despite the fulminations against the "brain trust," are still in the main timid and afraid to disturb the various "sacred cows" of our political and social life. Research in the natural sciences is encouraged, and has reached a high state of technical competence, but its full benefits have not trickled down to the people because of faulty patent laws, and the suppression of processes which would cause appreciable obsolescence of equipment. In some cases, such as meretricious advertising, so-called "science" is

frequently used to produce an irrational belief upon the part of purchasers which is uncontaminated with common sense.

If knowledge is therefore really to be put at the service of the common man, a greater degree of fearlessness is needed by teachers and research workers in dealing with the issues presented by our economic and social system. This fearlessness should not be a substitute for knowledge, but it should show a readiness to explore into areas of policy in such matters as money, banking and credit, pricing, public control in industry, public ownership, the distribution of incomes, etc., and to follow the truth wherever that may lead. If we could have fewer scattered and piecemeal studies, which in advance one knows will lead nowhere, and a greater readiness to attack fundamental issues, we would be much better off. It will be necessary to make many improvements, of which I suggest only the following:

a) The liberal provision of competitive scholarships in our high schools and public and private colleges and universities, which shall be designed to enable extremely able children of very poor families to go on and receive the training which their abilities merit.

b) The general encouragement by our educational institutions of the idea that students should seek not only individual success but should actively co-operate with their fellows in a collective effort to improve the common cause of civilization.

c) A press which will not be the lackey of large capitalistic interests, but which will instead at least try accurately to report the swift-moving web of events. Within any given region there should moreover be at least a variety of interpretations offered in the press as a whole, which should not be dominated by any one set of group interests. How necessary this is only those who like myself live in Chicago, and possibly also those who live in or near Los Angeles, can know.

d) A greatly expanded program of adult education, which shall recognize the fact that our intellectual interests do not and should not cease with formal school training, but instead continue through the rest of our lives.

e) A revised patent law which will make it impossible for inventions and discoveries to be held out of use or to feed monopolies, but which will instead throw them open for common use on the basis of a fee paid to the inventor.

f) The following by industry of the principle that the consumer or purchaser is entitled to the truth about the product he is about to buy. A beginning has been made in this direction by the Roosevelt administration in the passage of the Securities Act, which requires those issuing stocks or bonds to tell the truth about them. A further carrying-out of this principle is embodied in the Copeland bill, requiring the producers and advertisers of foods, drugs, and cosmetics to tell the truth about these commodities. The Consumers Advisory Board has been urging that other products should bear informative labeling, or be graded through standards of quality so that the consumer may know what she is getting. It has also been urging that when men borrow small sums of money from personal finance companies, or goods on the instalment plan, they should be informed what the actual rate of interest is that they are being asked to pay. Up to date our efforts have not been crowned with any conspicuous degree of success, but one may hope that as consumers become aware of what is being done to them they will demand in no uncertain terms that they be given this information, and that ultimately they will be successful.

But underneath all these concrete reforms must lie an abandonment of fear. The unpracticed swimmer fears the water. The average man fears life and, perhaps, most of all he fears truth. It is the fear of truth and of reality, as Bernard Hart tells us, which causes most of the manifold types of insanity. There is no fear which is greater to surmount, but there is none more necessary. Only as this is lessened can we push forward really to let the daylight of knowledge in upon a darkened world.

5. THE RIGHT TO RELATIVE SECURITY

No thinking person needs to be told how insecure our lives are in this modern world. Accidents, sickness, death, involun-

tary unemployment, and indigent old age threaten any one of us, and may, at any moment, precipitate us into an abyss. Nor have our savings been safe, as the collapse of banks and the shrinkage of the value of farms and homes—of bonds and stocks—have abundantly shown. The constant fear that disaster of this kind may fall upon us is one of the reasons for the fierce and unscrupulous selfishness which has for so long characterized a great deal of American life. For if men know that they have no protection when such catastrophes occur, except that which they are able to provide for themselves, they are almost forced to use fair means or foul in their efforts to build up a stake for those contingencies. For it is very easy for men to reason that a society which will not protect their families from the present terrible consequences of these hazards is not entitled to any consideration in return. If society follows the law of the jungle, then we must expect men to behave like its denizens. The marvel is, indeed, that men and women are so much more decent than we might expect them to be from their situation. This constant fear, moreover, in the end, so far from stimulating effort, actually deadens and paralyzes it. This has been shown by the experiments of physiologists to be true for animals, and we have seen it exemplified in the effect of unemployment upon the morale of those who have been thrown out of work.

There is no greater single need than that of lightening the burden of worry and insecurity, and the best way to effect this is to develop a self-regulating system of social insurance which will provide at least a minimum of protection for those who lose their earning power through accidents, unemployment, sickness, and old age.

The earnings of the workers are insufficient for them to accumulate an adequate individual reserve against these contingencies, since even in 1926 the average actual annual earnings of the unskilled were not greatly above \$1,000 a year, or not far from \$20 a week, while the average annual earnings of all employed workers as a whole were only \$1,473, or a little over \$28 a week.⁵

⁵ Douglas, *Real Wages in the United States, 1890-1926*.

And if such were the averages, a very goodly percentage, of course, received less than these amounts. The impossibility of each person laying aside a sufficient nest-egg to take care of the emergencies which might befall should, therefore, be obvious. Even if it could be done, it would in a very large percentage of cases be a waste, since these catastrophes would not affect all, and might not even touch the majority, with any severity. These persons would therefore be greatly curtailing their present expenditures and cutting them in many cases far below the minimum standard of life only to pile up reserves for emergencies which would never occur. Finally, we should recognize that the most of the previous savings of the working class have been swept away by this depression, and that an extremely large percentage are heavily in debt. We cannot rely on these nonexistent savings to provide individual security for those exposed to the great risks of life.

But, although these catastrophes are too severe and too irregular in their incidence to make individual savings an adequate form of protection, they do lend themselves admirably to a system of social insurance. The pooled contributions of the many can then be accumulated to provide a fund to protect the minority who suffer from the catastrophes of unemployment, accidents, ill health, or indigent old age.

Until recently we had expected that these great gains would have to be obtained singly. Old-age pensions, having been adopted by approximately half of the states, might with proper urging be adopted by most of the remaining number, and in time put upon a contributory basis, so that those over sixty-five or seventy years of age would receive them on a basis which would be independent of whether or not their children would be able to support them. We had hoped that the administrative difficulties under workmen's compensation would be gradually improved and that the principle would be broadened to include automobile casualties and severe injuries which are now probably more important than industrial injuries. We had hoped that the experience of this depression would teach us all the

necessity of providing a more adequate, a more certain, and a more self-respecting way of taking care of the unemployed than that of relief, and that unemployment insurance would develop and spread in this country. Finally, we had thought that while health insurance would probably be the last type of social insurance to be instituted, that it, too, might be added after the other forms had been established.

But until recently, I suppose, most of us have believed that these changes would have to be effected one at a time, and that years would be required until the majority of the states acted on most of the measures. Recently, as press dispatches from Washington have announced, there has arisen the possibility that the President will put himself at the head of the movement, and that he may ask for an integrated and unified system of social insurance which, under national stimulation and direction, will embody a number of these measures. Should this happen, the movement would, of course, receive a truly great impetus, and if popular sentiment should respond in a truly decisive manner, it may be that we shall see the consummation of our hopes in these directions in a much shorter time than we had expected. Even if a unified system of social insurance is not installed at one time, there can be no doubt that the process of getting individual measures passed would be greatly speeded up if the national administration were to take the lead. I feel that there is a great responsibility upon us all in the coming months to help arouse the public to the necessity of devising a better system of taking care of the casualties of industry than by the archaic, inadequate, and humiliating system of relief which we now have.

6. THE RIGHT TO A MORE EVEN DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH AND INCOME

As we have pointed out, the present distribution of wealth and income is strikingly unequal. It is certainly true that the amount of satisfaction which we obtain from successive increments of income declines since we choose to gratify the most urgent desires first, and then move to those of a lesser degree. It

follows, therefore, if persons were of equal capacity, that the last dollars of the millionaire's income would yield less satisfaction to him than would the last dollars of the manual worker. And while there may well be some differences in the average innate capacities of the rich and the poor which may make the former more sensitive to satisfactions, it seems highly improbable that these are enough to offset the much lower utility of the final units of money. Waiving for the moment the question of incentives, it follows, therefore, that the general happiness would be increased by an appreciable reduction in the inequality of incomes. For this would mean transferring dollars from persons where their utility was relatively low to persons where the utility would be much higher. This transfer might conceivably be effected directly through trade-union action and minimum-wage laws. In all probability, however, it could be carried through more effectively by the taxing machinery. The income thus collected from the wealthy could, therefore, in large part be used to build up the stock of free goods, such as recreation, health service, education, art, etc., which would be available to the poor.

I believe, moreover, that modern democracies are more and more finding it difficult to justify the maintenance of great inequalities through an unlimited right of inheritance. For this speedily produces a permanent leisure class and enables large groups of persons to live luxuriously without exerting themselves. The suggestion of the late Eugene Rignano seems particularly appropriate in this connection, namely, to tax inheritances progressively, not only in respect to the amount and the degree of relationship involved, but also through time. Thus, a fortune passed on from father to son to grandchild would be taxed more heavily on its second transfer than on its first, and more heavily on its third than on its second, etc. In the course of three or four generations, the original amount would have been taken by society, and the great-grandchildren of the original millionaire would be forced to go to work. Now I know it will be objected to all this that if these inequalities are removed, the

incentive to effort will be lessened, and production will in consequence be reduced. Certainly, however, no one can seriously claim that the desire to maintain one's great-grandchildren in luxury and to preserve them from the necessity of working influences many business men, while it is obvious that removing the inheritance from the great-grandchildren certainly increases their incentive to work. It furthermore is fairly obvious that it is not necessary to maintain such wide differentials in income as we now have in order to induce superior talent to be forthcoming. Joseph Eastman is apparently as able a head for our railway system as we can find, and it would not be necessary to pay him \$100,000 a year to run it. On the contrary, he is giving his extraordinary best for \$12,000 a year. The very efficient president of the \$200,000,000 Panama Railroad Company is a lieutenant colonel in the army, with a salary of \$7,500 a year. I am not a believer in the absolute equality of incomes, since I believe this would probably decrease production, but it would seem that a maximum income which was fifteen to twenty times the minimum should ultimately be enough to draw out the best efforts of men.

After all, men desire money largely in order to obtain security and because it furnishes the earmarks by which the world is supposed to judge success. As we discover and apply other rewards for successful effort, the importance of money as the stigmata of the successful will diminish. The social surplus need not then be concentrated in as few hands, and can instead be more widely diffused. As that is done, and if the surplus is not dissipated in war, the condition of the submerged will, of necessity, rise.

7. THE RIGHT TO A MORE EVEN DISTRIBUTION OF POWER

Harrington in his *Oceana* made the wise observation that "he who is the breadgiver is the lawmaker. If a man feeds his people, they have become his serfs." Under feudalism the owners of the land controlled society because they controlled the jobs, and could take away from anyone who opposed them the oppor-

tunity of making a living. As the control over wealth and industry has become concentrated in a relatively small class, they have become the arbiters of men's actions. If we wish to find feudally dominated communities, we need not go to Hungary, with its large estates; we can instead find them by the hundred in the mill towns of New England and the South, in coal-mining communities of southern Illinois, in industrial cities all over the country. Men everywhere are afraid to speak their minds—or to use their minds—lest this offend those who hold control over industry and jobs.

It is primarily this fact which is responsible for the decline in vigorous thought in the United States. The first half-century after the Declaration of Independence, which ended with the simultaneous deaths of Jefferson and John Adams, was marked by an extraordinary intellectual and political flowering. Men were then not afraid to speak their minds, even though their neighbors disapproved. For them industry, trade, and agriculture were organized on a small scale, and the objector could retire to his small farm or shop or store and make his living. He had his means of life under his own feet, and he, therefore, need not fear any man. It was this fact which accounted for Jefferson's desire to help the small producer as against the merchant capitalist and big banker, and which accounted for his emphasis upon local government.

But since property is power, the concentration of property and of the social surplus has brought an increasing control over the thoughts and acts of men, and, as Mr. Tugwell has well pointed out, has resulted in an increasing regimentation of the many by the few. If we are to return to the vigor of the early days of our Republic, we must break the domination of this group over the life of the nation and make it possible for men to assert their freedom without sacrificing their bread. The greater equalization of property and income which I have advocated would help greatly to effect this. But any such program will take time to accomplish, and in the meantime freedom must be won as well. Even when this greater equality of material possessions

is obtained, there will still be the need of maintaining freedom from a governmental ruling class.

I believe the path to freedom lies through a greater degree of group association. When workmen are organized into unions and thus protected from unjust discharge, we find them more ready to participate freely in social and political life. Company towns are not free towns, but unionized towns have much greater freedom. A wider degree of unionization is, therefore, needed to bring about real democracy as well as more immediate economic gains.

Similarly, the organization of the farmers into marketing co-operatives lessens the hold of the local bankers and commission men, and makes them freer personalities. Likewise the formation of consumers co-operatives will do as much for men and women in their capacities as consumers, while credit unions will help to break the hold of the money lenders. Finally, a political party based upon the interests of farmers, manual workers, and the professional classes, such as is now developing in Minnesota and Wisconsin, would give to the people an alternative to the two old parties which in most states are merely two wings of the same bird of prey, and which in the words of Oscar Ameringer "solicit votes from the poor and money from the rich on the pretext of protecting each from the other."

All of these group organizations would not only diffuse power, but they would also give to the average man and woman opportunities to participate in economic and political life. They would help to reconcile the eternal conflict between egoism and altruism, for in building up such bodies one would help others at the same time that one helped one's self. They would help to do for our generation what the town meeting did for our grandfathers, and would make the life of the average man very much more purposeful and dignified than it is today.

8. THE RIGHT TO PRIVACY AND DIFFERENTIATION

A curious feature about the American doctrine of individualism is the way in which its most ardent exponents so frequently

wish to dictate to the individual what his tastes, his habits, and his thoughts shall be. Nowhere are men's lives more regimented in these respects than in America, and all at the time when we pay lip-service to the doctrine of individualism. It is indeed probable that the insistence upon complete individualism in matters of economics and politics is because we have so little of it in other, and perhaps more vital, branches of life. As I have pointed out, if we could have less ruthless and rugged individualism in business, we could probably have more of it in other fields. But all too often—particularly among the middle classes—we insist upon a deadening uniformity. Men are expected to like the same clubs, the same types of amusement, to hold the same religious faiths, and to conform in general. It is this which produces the monotony which characterizes so much of American life, and from which a person can often escape only by moving to localities with a different set of social standards. But surely in matters of taste there is room for endless variety—and culturally the American people, and particularly those in the upper reaches of the great Mississippi Valley, need nothing more.

It is for these reasons that I welcome the growth of a cultivated provincialism which is not content with aping the superficial and rootless standards of New York, but which develops its own culture in the terms of its own background and tradition and is not ashamed of it. We see signs of this in the paintings of Grant Wood, who has abandoned Paris for Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and who, in his "American Gothic," "The Daughters of the American Revolution," and other paintings, has enriched the Middle West and the country. We see it also in the paintings of John Steuart Curry, the murals of Thomas H. Benton, and the architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright. It is present in the revival of folk music in Virginia and North Carolina, and in the muffled outbursts of the Tennessee agrarians while William Allen White, the sage of Emporia, Kansas, and Ed Howe, of Potato Hill, are almost perfect examples of the type. The peculiar fascination of Texas and California largely springs from the fact that a goodly percentage of the people in these states are not afraid to

be themselves. We are witnessing, I believe, an authentic revolt from the timidly gentile tradition of New England and the false bohemianism of New York. After all, despite André Siegfried, there is no reason why the fact that most of us shave with safety razors and ride in Fords and Chevrolets should make us think the same thoughts or follow the same patterns.

The United States is a country of great geographical diversities, and there is need for cultural diversity as well. As indigenous culture develops and finds worthy and dignified form, it should batter down the false uniformities set by the New York smart-alecks and by the Paul Pry's of our villages and towns. America will then indeed come of age and will realize some of the hopes cherished by Walt Whitman in his *Democratic Vistas*.

SOCIAL INSURANCE

*Mollie Ray Carroll, Director, University
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OUR consciousness of complete unpreparedness for unemployment with its appalling consequences and our growing appreciation of the inadequacy of provisions for independent old age have indicated the necessity for planned protection against that and the other hazards which shatter the lives of many in our low- or moderate-income groups. This protection we are coming to identify with the term "insurance," so frequently anathematized a few years ago and as frequently today uncritically acclaimed as the solution for all types of insecurity that assail workers or employables or their families.

Social insurance we generally view as a method of assembling funds during approximately normal times and of disbursing them in the event of occurrence of the hazards they are designed to meet. It carries specific legal definitions of scope with limitation of benefits to groups covered. It involves contribution usually by or for the members of the insurance fund. It defines eligibility commonly in terms of amount and duration of premium payment, and generally also of employment upon which premium payment is calculated. Title to benefit is customarily gained by the member of the fund in good standing when he has fulfilled the required conditions, irrespective of his financial need. Benefits are based upon specific rules as to scale and duration, and these may not coincide with the extent or continuation of the hazard for which insurance is provided. Administration and financial arrangements are under the control of a public authority. The law or administrative authority sets the terms of premium and benefit payments according to anticipated expenditure requirements and accumulation of reserves.

Though slow to adopt the principle of social insurance, we are

not devoid of experience in some of its aspects as defined by the International Labour Office. We have workmen's compensation legislation in forty-four states, seven with exclusive and eleven more with optional state funds and thirty-seven permitting insurance through private carriers or self-insurance. Originating in attempt to combat the uncertainties and injustice of the common-law defenses in case of accidents, our workmen's compensation legislation has been only partially successful in assuring cash compensation or medical services for accidents or in prevention.

As Bowers pointed out in his book *Is It Safe To Work?* (published in 1930), coverage is limited, a million and a half transportation workers in interstate commerce alone being without the protection of compensation at that time. The author shows, furthermore, as did Downey in his book (published in 1924), that compensation rates are so low that it is cheaper in many instances to chance having to pay cash benefits rather than to instal safety machinery. They are frequently insufficient to maintain the individual and his family in minimum standards of comfort during his incapacity for employment. Medical services under workmen's compensation¹ are often unsatisfactory for the same reason.

We also have a considerable fund of experience in the field of old-age pensions. We have expanded self-insurance issued by private companies to include useful annuity arrangements. Whether some of the companies have handled the insurer's funds more safely than have some of our other financial houses is open to question.² Their policies, furthermore, are written for those with sufficient income to allow a margin for saving against old age. We have devised industrial pension systems, but have come to recognize the impossibility of assuring payment of such pensions irrespective of general economic conditions or of the state of the particular employing firm, so that

¹ See *Medical Relations under Workmen's Compensation*, a report prepared by the Bureau of Medical Economics (American Medical Association, 1933), p. 48.

² L. Seth Schnitman, *How Safe Is Life Insurance?*

security breaks down at the very time when it is most needed. In an effort to make good their pension promises, firms have limited their schemes to a relatively insignificant number of persons. These plans have therefore proved highly expensive in the light of their limited scope and their uncertainty, even for the selected few who qualify.³

Our experience with state old-age pensions is comparatively recent, but twenty-seven states now have such legislation. Our American legislation differs basically from the European in that it is non-contributory. The fact that our laws are so recent probably accounts for this divergence. In 1889, when old-age pensions were inaugurated in Germany, there was little or no foretaste of the conditions of industry and trade which have since made it impossible for many workers to contribute continuously to an old-age pension scheme or to rest secure in such contribution by their employer. Industrialization had not proceeded on a sufficiently large scale to show the inadequacy and uncertainty of wages to meet even current needs, let alone to provide for the future. Employment was still stable, or at least so considered. Early superannuation of the laborer was undreamed of. It was assumed that a person's work history in industry, as it had always been in agriculture, would continue until ripe old age incapacitated him even for petty jobs.

We are introducing old-age pensions at a time when irregularity of employment and early superannuation preclude the possibility of membership in a state pension fund procured by regular contributions by the worker or his employer to the age of sixty-five. Consequently we accept a non-contributory scheme as logical and inevitable.

In this we are more fortunate than many European countries whose contributory old-age pension schemes are now causing difficulty. Persons who have paid for years but are unable to continue to do so now because of unemployment lose title to benefits. Their disappointment is the greater because they have

³ See Murray Latimer, *Industrial Pension Systems*.

long been led to expect insured, independent old age. In spite of loss of eligibility to old-age pensions through unemployment after years of contribution to the fund, premium payments remain high for participating members. Changing age distribution of the population, resulting from a sharp decline in the birth-rate and also probably from greater longevity in the wage-earning population, means that even though many persons lose title to old-age pensions, the burden of support of eligibles rests upon a relatively and increasingly smaller number of active contributors. In consequence, premium payments necessary to balance income with expenditure are taking an even higher percentage of wages.

Before we became conscious of our responsibility for aged workers we had accepted the principle of non-contributory allowances in mothers' assistance. We had developed the method of fixing cash benefits upon the basis of need as determined by social investigation and of accompanying grants-in-aid with supervision and treatment by professional social workers. This method we now believe applicable and essential to old-age pensions. Our mothers' assistance and our old-age pensions are, however, conditional upon a needs test and therefore not strictly comparable to contributory social-insurance schemes.

In respect to provision for sickness and unemployment our experience is limited. Problems of the cost of medical care have resulted in study of the problem, notably by the Committee on the Cost of Medical Care. The findings of the Committee and the majority and minority reports permit of varying conclusions. General opinion seems to favor complete separations of medical services from cash benefits. To meet the costs of the former the recommendations include the possibility of contributions wholly by the beneficiaries or their families, taxation, or a combination of contribution and taxation.

Each of the three methods of financing suggested by the Committee has its limitations. A strict insurance scheme sharply restricts the coverage. Also, as the minority report of the Committee points out, the English and German experience shows

that establishment of a national insurance scheme through consolidation of small, existing, private societies involves taking over many vested interests that may hamper operations of a national scheme. The logical conclusion is that a national scheme when undertaken should be started afresh, unhampered by the entanglements of small local experiments.

Universal provision of medical services through taxation might at present tend to maintain such service near the existing level of public medical care and encourage the resort to other medical services by all who could afford them. A combination of contribution and taxation would be tantamount to class legislations, the insurers probably seeking and demanding differential services better than those provided through taxation. In fact, in countries having national insurance schemes we do find private health insurance and free, tax-supported hospitals and medical services existing side by side and even competing with each other.

Our difficulty in sickness insurance lies in the grant of cash benefits for sickness. At this point there is a sharp distinction between the demands of unemployment and those of sickness insurance. The remedy in the former case is restoration of income. In the latter, it is restoration of health, with income as a secondary problem. The difficulty in administration of sickness insurance as at present organized in most European countries lies in the confusion of the two. As a result, the reward of successful malingering is cash income as well as medical attention. The physician, in addition to the task of healing, must decide whether or not the person is to receive financial assistance, and for how long. No wonder he finds himself in difficulty! No wonder our American thought tends toward limitation of benefit in sickness insurance to medical services. It suggests restriction of the physician to the realm for which he is professionally qualified, avoiding injustice or chicanery.

Our knowledge of unemployment insurance in the United States has been almost negligible. Our experience with unemployment relief during the last four years and that of Europe

with unemployment insurance and relief, however, give some indication of the extent of our problem. In considering the feasibility of the method of sickness and of unemployment insurance in the United States, we face the question of contributory or non-contributory schemes, of the needs test and of cash benefits or benefits in services. Back of these is the formulation of our philosophy of social insurance.

There is more than historical interest in the origins of social insurance, for those origins have conditioned the entire structure and attitude. When Bismarck established contributory sickness, accident, and old-age insurance in Germany, he shaped it in accordance with the centuries of experience of the guilds and friendly societies. Those forerunners had been small self-insurance organizations of the more regularly employed workers. Their funds had remained solvent, and their benefits had been paid because in times of stress they had passed the hat, had reduced benefits, or had sent their unemployed members on to other localities through grant of small traveling allowances. The casualty rate of these small societies must have been excessive, though we have no statistics on the subject. The strength of the societies lay in their self-discipline. The members' intimate knowledge of one another kept down malingering, since contributors were anxious to safeguard the funds. The first insurance act passed in 1883 covering sickness took over the smaller societies into a loose federation. The wastefulness of their duplicating administrative machinery has persisted to the present time without much of the compensatory control arising from the members' earlier intimate knowledge of each other.

Naturally, considering their origin, the insurance schemes were contributory. In sickness insurance as it developed, the worker paid two-thirds and the employer one-third of the premium. The employers' joint risks associations carried the costs of accident compensation, provided the disability lasted longer than a prescribed period of time. If it did not, the sickness insurance fund gave the care, so that short-time treatment was paid for by

employees and employers. Contributions to old-age pensions were on a fifty-fifty basis. Only later in the English insurance schemes and in German extended benefits under unemployment insurance did government participation in financing social insurance come in. It was not included in Bismarck's plans. With it came discussion on introduction of the needs test.

The early German social-insurance schemes provided cash benefits. Medical services in case of accident or sickness were included largely because the societies could secure them upon more favorable terms. They and preventive measures assumed an important rôle in the scheme only after the war.

Bismarck's reason for inaugurating social insurance was primarily to fight trade-unionism and socialism. It was strategy against the labor organizations which were proposing shift in the control of industry as a measure of security for the workers. Management of the insurance societies under the early acts lay in the hands of the government, in spite of the retention of much of the machinery of the older private societies. Costs, presumably met in part by the employer in premium payments, were probably to some degree passed on in reduced wages or increased prices, though we have no way of determining the extent of the shift. The trade-unions considered social insurance as a strategy against themselves and bitterly opposed it for years. Later they accepted, advocated, promoted, and partly controlled it, without, however, appreciable changing of its character. The workers' vested interest in social insurance was generally considered the reason for the mildness of the democratic revolution of 1919. Thoughtful opinion in some quarters, however, was that revolution did not go far enough to eradicate the evils of the Old Junker, monarchical, militaristic, and overbearing capitalistic system. The experience of the last two years would seem to bear out the contention.

As we face the problems of insurance, the three issues of Bismarck's time still dominate our thinking and planning. In addition, we have the problem of the needs test.

The issue of a contributory versus a non-contributory system

comes sharply to the forefront in all discussions of sickness and unemployment insurance. The plan for unemployment reserves found in the Wisconsin Act and in the American Association for Labor Legislation proposals makes the employer the sole contributor. The Ohio bill and the proposal sponsored by the Epstein group favor joint contributions by employers and workers. The English law provides three-way contribution. The German Act stipulates support from employers and workers but makes the national treasury responsible for deficits and grants extended benefits paid also out of national funds.

The first question is whether under present or anticipated industrial and employment conditions in the United States a wages system can provide a contributory social-insurance program for more than a small and selected proportion of the unemployed, sick, aged, or injured. Employee contributions demand sufficient certainty and continuity of employment up to the age of eligibility for old-age pensions to guarantee claim to benefits. Actually unemployment among those seeking to enter an occupation and those over forty years of age leaves the possibility of continued membership in an insurance fund remote for a great proportion of the potential wage-earners. Also employee contribution assumes a wages scale high enough to allow a margin for saving. Actually this has not been possible recently, nor for many even in the prosperous days before November of 1929, without sacrifice of essentials to the individual or his family. Nor do we see a wages system in the immediate future that permits such a margin.

There are several questions on employer contribution that have usually received inadequate consideration. The most telling argument commonly given in the United States for employer contribution is its supposed encouragement of stabilization of employment. The reason advanced is that differential insurance rates would stimulate the employer to preventive measures in the field of unemployment as they have to some degree encouraged prevention of accidents through workmen's compensation. The analogy is fallacious, and even in the accident field

the results in prevention are strictly limited. In employment bookkeeping a week's wages saved by discharging a workman would probably far surpass the excess differential annual premium rate levied for discharge or lay-off. Furthermore, contribution by the employer taxes those who hire large numbers of workmen. This policy is reminiscent of the time when everyone was employed. Today there is no necessary correlation between numbers of employees and volume of production or profits. Actually what we wish to do is to encourage opportunities for employment, and where that is impossible to make available for those unable to secure work at least a reasonable share of the products of the machine.

If we believe that new processes are going to be developed to utilize labor displaced by machines and that wages will be adequate, contributory insurance is possible at such time as general employment is attainable for the majority of persons of both sexes available for employment from working age to sixty-five. The problem in such an event would be to distinguish between short-time, seasonal, and prolonged cyclical or depressional unemployment benefits. This would involve carrying the premium payments in sickness and old-age insurance until re-employment. The alternative would be to limit insurance to the groups likely to experience only short-time unemployment and to make provisions outside the insurance field for non-insurable groups.

If, however, we believe that rationalization of industry spells permanent reduction of the human labor required to produce goods, we must recognize that contributory social insurance is based upon a wages system. A wages system can carry the burden of consuming the goods we produce, of providing employment for the professional and cultural groups, and of contributing to the maintenance of a social-insurance system only if employment is widely distributed. If all persons available for work are to be employed, we must reduce hours of labor to somewhere near the two hours a day predicted by Steinmetz several years ago. If their wages are to maintain the economic

structure they are expected to carry, their hourly rate must be fabulous as compared to present practice. Of course, the machine should release human beings for intellectual and cultural pursuits sufficiently remunerative to provide an adequate living. Under our present system, however, the unemployment of the intellectual follows that of labor, so that diversion of effort to artistic, literary, intellectual, and professional service channels does not obtain. Rather, at the very time when the leisure time, health, and behavior problems of unemployment make the greatest demands, we find the most serious curtailment of such services. This present-day dependence upon the wages system may be one of the reasons for our quick derision of the technocrats. There were elements in their assertions that frightened us.

Even if the latter is too gloomy a view, a contributory scheme covering the majority of the sick, aged, or unemployed seems hardly possible in the near future, for the reasons already stated. However, a contributory system may be maintained with strictly limited coverage, and there is some justification for it other than the purely historical experience of certain European countries.

Loss of income through unemployment, whether due to market conditions, sickness, or other causes, must be compensated. The question concerns the method. The insurance scheme, following the Bismarck and the English method, attempts to maintain the economic *status quo*. Bismarck wished to allay industrial unrest. English unemployment insurance has often been called "revolution insurance." Admirable as the motives are, their effectiveness is open to question. German insurance has for a number of years been offering declining benefits at increasing costs with a larger and larger proportion of the unemployed being aided by government funds.⁴ Nor have industrial unrest and revolution been avoided.

It is a mistake to suppose that social insurance will meet the

⁴ The figures for December, 1932, show 18.1 per cent of the unemployed in receipt of standard benefits, 29.3 per cent assisted by extended benefits paid from public funds, and 52.6 per cent on unemployment relief. The figures for December, 1933, are 17.6 per cent, 37.4 per cent, and 45.0 per cent, respectively.

problems of any but a proportion of the most favored of the wage-earning groups. For them throughout the duration of their eligibility for benefits it means an assured income irrespective of need. The degree of adequacy of that income is known in advance. In normal times it may care for a considerable percentage of the sick, aged, or unemployed falling within its scope. There would still be a large number, however, to be cared for by other means. For these we see no other provision than some other form of relief, whatever we may name it.

English experience seems recently more favorable to relief, as shown by Mrs. Webb, who in the 1909 *Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission* opposed public assistance and favored social insurance. In the 1930 *Royal Commission Report on Unemployment Insurance* she says:

The advantages of Unemployment Insurance, when closely considered, are found to be absolutely dependent on the scheme being strictly limited in almost all directions. . . . Although an Unemployment Insurance Scheme is not, and cannot possibly be made a practicable or even a desirable method of providing for the Unemployed as such, yet for a strictly limited section of the unemployed for a strictly limited period, its social advantages outweigh its inherent evils. . . . I should prefer a system of maintenance without insurance.⁵

Many social workers have been inclined to discount unemployment relief. Its obvious weaknesses, however, are mainly due to our lack of preparedness, hasty organization, and absence of sufficient professional personnel. Only ignorance of the operation of European insurance systems attributes fewer difficulties of a similar nature to them. We have all been caught in an overwhelming tide of unemployment that has aggravated problems arising from accidents, sickness, and age.

There are problems either way. While a contributory social-insurance scheme is limited in coverage, a relief system involves a means test. The latter posits an adequate corps of educated, experienced, and socially minded social workers. A combination of both insurance and relief leads to the fourfold classification of standard benefits, extended or transitional benefits, un-

⁵ "Minutes of Evidence Taken before the Great Britain Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance, 1931"; available also in the *Social Service Review*, VII, No. 2 (June, 1933), 272-319.

employment relief, and poor-relief. The administrative difficulties and expenses rise with the elaboration of gradation. The implications as to status of the recipient of benefits are obvious and quite in opposition to our efforts to place public assistance to all persons upon a plane compatible with self-respect.

There is definite confusion in the term "social insurance," for it contains two more or less opposing meanings. On the one hand, it connotes insurance on an actuarial basis, income from premium payments covering outlay for benefits, reserves, and administration; restriction of coverage to good risks and even to them limitation of sale and duration of benefits. On the other hand, social insurance implies assurance of protection during crises through provision of services or restoration of income. This assurance we as social workers rightly insist upon. Only it is the method which confuses us and may lead us to advocacy of legislation so unjust or incapable of general application to the problem as to defeat our purpose.

What we really want is dignified provision for all forms of human need administered in such a manner as to preserve human dignity even in the most abject cases. Our resentment against the pauper laws has led to search for terms or devices for providing for those whose claim upon public understanding is more obvious. The ensuing duplication of machinery represents an almost inevitable transition toward the time of universal provision of the necessities of life. Whether disbursement of such necessities be done by the post-office, tax-collector, or insurance clerk, or by the social worker, depends upon whether social treatment is considered essential to a minimum standard of living and that in turn upon whether social workers provide treatment of so thoroughly professional a nature that its importance is generally recognized.

That universal provision is possible our present technological development gives ample promise—that is, provided we do not continue to produce far less than we are capable of doing by our stupid acceptance of idle factories, farms, and men.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION

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WE ARE in the midst of a great social confusion. With all the currents and cross-currents running north, east, south, and west in our troubled society, it is not easy to see clearly the direction in which that society is going to proceed. It is particularly hard to see exactly what will be the outcome for the field of social work, but one thing stands out, and that is the certainty of a greater interference by government in the activities of individuals in the social area. As a consequence we can fairly look forward to an increase in the regulation in that area. Whether so large a proportion will be statutory is another question, and the present tendency toward vesting administrative bodies with greater regulatory powers makes it seem at least probable that the regulatory activity of the government will find expression in rules made by administrative bodies rather than in detailed provisions of statutes. It behooves us, then, to treat the problem of social legislation not alone as involving the activities of legislation- or statute-making bodies, but as involving also the rule-making activity of the administration.

It would be unsafe to predicate the trend of future social legislation solely on the exceptional acts which are being passed during the existing emergency, when the government and people are trying to cope with the present problems of the depression, of unemployment in particular, and its results upon the individual. Let us apply the old recommendation to look at the past, at the present, and then try to discern the future, and devote a short time to a rapid survey of the development in legislation which has come about in the past quarter-century, and its tendencies. I am the more inclined to take advantage of this

opportunity, since I know that my generation is coming in for very sharp criticism on the part of the younger people, and I believe that the very considerable advance which has come about in the period since I have been more or less active in pressing social legislation is obscured by the catastrophe which has overtaken our social order.

PAST ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN SOCIAL LEGISLATION

Our accomplishments in social legislation will not, I think, show a record of which we have reason to be ashamed, nor will the part of the social worker in that legislation seem unworthy of the interest which brings so great a gathering to Kansas City. Let me take as an example the development in the field in which I was first active in legislation a quarter of a century ago. A child-labor bill had just been beaten in the California legislature, and a few of us connected with a settlement in San Francisco decided to see whether we could not put such a law upon the books of the state. We were able to pass a statute which was little more than a promise for the future. We had to meet a first difficulty, that of principle as to whether or not child-labor legislation was morally right or socially wise. Very worthy people considered it right that a child should work to help support the family; some even relied on the adage that "the Devil always finds work for idle hands to do," and maintained in all sincerity that the mill or the street trades or the store were means provided by a beneficent Providence to prevent the evil one's making a rich harvest among the children of the working classes. There was a very sincere public opinion against us, and there was more than that sincere public opinion; there was a will which is always with us—the will to profits, even though at the expense of those from whom they are made.

You all know how complete has been the turn in public opinion in our generation. It is in the building-up of this public opinion, in the pressing upon people of all classes of the right of children to develop body and mind and the duty of the state to see that they may, that the social worker has taken his chief

part as a class in the improvement which has come about in the protection of children. Only when based on an enlightened and convinced public opinion can social reforms be built up through legislation and through an administration which reaches into the private affairs of the people. The development of co-operation between the education laws and child labor is an evidence that the old fear of the danger of idleness was not altogether unfounded, and a practical answer to this early objection was found in such a way as not to impede but to further the limitation on age and hours of work of those who are the seed corn of our society. Through the workmen's compensation laws another way was discovered of enforcing the law, by giving double compensation to children employed contrary to its terms. With all the changes and improvements, I can only look on the old law which we drew and submitted to the California legislature as a relic of an almost forgotten age. It resembles a modern piece of legislation in this field about as much as one of the small sidewheel steamers which when I was a boy still plied between Pacific ports resembles a great modern liner. Let us admit that social engineering has lagged far behind mechanical, but let us recognize that it, too, has made substantial progress.

In another field of child protection the whole development of juvenile court testifies to the improvement in sentiment in our society and the betterment in the technique with which it deals with the wayward child. The institution of mothers' pensions again has been a contribution of our country and of our generation to the social work of the state, to which we can point as a real achievement.

A little outside the direct field of social work, but yet intimately connected with the adjustment of society which has been going on and in which the social-work group has played an important part, is the development of workmen's compensation, known in this country less than the working life of the generation which is so soon to make its farewell bow to younger people. It is hard to realize how hostile, how bitterly hostile, was a large share of public opinion to this social institution when it was

first urged. The parties most interested—labor and employers—lined up against it as an interference by the state in their established relationships, and as no less than a revolutionary modification in the law which had existed in respect to work accidents. There has been in no field a more complete change of public opinion than in this of compensation. The belief that compensation, that mothers' pensions, and that old-age relief, were menaces to the established social order and were a dangerous threat to the rugged individualism under which the American people had become great and had conquered the continent still exists, but it has transferred its application to other and newer efforts to adjust the social structure.

Another field in which this generation has accomplished striking results is in the field of penology and prison reform. When we took things over from our predecessors, contract labor of convicts was a well-established institution doing its little share in meeting the expense of prisons, and a much greater share in improving the worldly fortunes of the contractors who looked upon themselves and were looked upon generally as benefiting the state through the payments they made for the labor of prisoners, and as being philanthropists to the extent that they were employing the idle criminal with perhaps some chance that he would be reformed by the salutary influence of work inspired by the profit motive of his employer. Except in a few states, the evil of prison-contracting has been done away with, and a realization of the need of occupation has led the reformer to try to combine it with training for the prisoner, so that he will be better equipped to take his place in the social life into which he is cast on his discharge from prison. The idea of probation, too, has made progress, though its practical realization lags. The need of good administrative machinery to make it effective suggests the line which should now be taken, and which however runs up against the serious difficulty of cost.

It is perhaps not a digression from my main theme to point out here the much greater appropriations of public money for social purposes and to impress upon the social worker the fact

that here is another instance of a change in public opinion to which the social worker has had a fair share in contributing and which is not the least of his claims to public gratitude. Many of the reforms of which I have spoken could have been carried out only through large appropriations of public money, and to persuade the legislatures, even in better times than these, that the state owed to its people not only protection and certain necessary public services but also an opportunity for a better and wider life has not been easy. How often have social workers appeared before a legislative committee, asking for mothers' pensions, old-age relief, playgrounds, to be met by the answer that while there might be no objection to the idea, raising taxes to get money with which to pay for it could not be thought of. Not infrequently, I imagine, has the point of view been met, inside and outside the legislature, that it was not the duty of the state to relieve an individual of part of the burden cast upon Adam, except the old social obligation of the poor-laws, or to give him greater opportunities for recreation or education. The argument that the legislature should not deprive private charity of its privilege of helping others was in part, at least, a smoke-screen for a keen recognition of the political danger of adding to taxes. It is only by degrees, and from case to case, that the sense of social responsibility which does not shy at the cost of larger appropriations of the public money and, consequently, higher taxes has developed. There can be no doubt but that there is a developing consciousness of social solidarity upon which alone there can be based an adequate structure of social insurance. In the building-up of this consciousness there has been a mighty work done in my generation.

I will not linger over the changes in labor law. One needs only to compare the labor codes of any advanced state today with those of twenty years ago to realize that here, too, the social engineer has not wholly failed in adjusting the control of social forces, in comparison with the accomplishment of his brethren in mechanic arts, in putting to work in the service of society the infinitely more tractable natural forces. Perhaps this de-

velopment is most striking in the field of labor administration. When we were working on child labor in California, the principal labor officer of the state was the commissioner of labor statistics, and he welcomed us as giving to his bureau its first real chance to administer a labor law. Californians can bear testimony to the great change which has come about since the days when we made our humble beginnings, and how their administration has grown to keep pace with the development of the regulatory laws themselves. Factory regulation, hours of labor of women and children, the beginnings of minimum wage, workmen's compensation—all bear testimony to the mighty reversal of opinion in respect to the share of the state in the regulation of the relations of labor and capital.

The record of the past quarter-century is one of substantial improvement, and with this behind us we can look forward to the future with more confidence. Not only has there been a substantial accomplishment in legislation and administration, but there has been a real awakening of public opinion upon which the social legislation of the future can be built—public opinion that is a very different foundation for the coming edifice than that on which we had to project the modest constructions with which our generation began its operations.

The history of a piece of social legislation like the child-labor acts is the history of a constant development and a constant adaptation through the results of experience, and of the new ideas which are being developed in the minds of those who are watching the experimentation. Change in the law, however, does not come about of itself. It has only been through everlastingly keeping at it that child-labor legislation, workmen's compensation, and mothers' pension laws have been built up. The enactment of an important piece of legislation is just its birth. Laws grow like trees and must be just as carefully pruned and fertilized. The child-labor law, the compensation law, when they were first put upon the books, were confessedly inadequate, and the improvements that have successively come about have been the results of experience and imagination, both

of those who administer the law and of the groups which are interested in its results. The fields in which the experience was obtained are sometimes widely separated. For example, the relation between child labor and education resulted from the discovery that a child-labor law was better enforced with some relation to the school laws and the administrators of the school laws could get better results with the help of the child-labor inspectors. This implies co-operation, and co-operation is personal. Individuals must have made the discovery that there should be this much combination of child-labor and school laws; individuals must have drafted the necessary amendments, and have persuaded the legislature to adopt them. Knowledge is power, but knowledge is like electrical power, it does not accomplish much until a trained person applies it. Just as a great industrial plant has engineers constantly on the job watching its machinery and production, to bring about betterment which will save cost or turn out a better product, so a piece of social machinery needs constant observation by its type of engineer to bring about smoother working and more satisfactory social results. Some of the best of the social engineers have been those administrators who unite experience and vision, but perhaps more effective has been the social worker, backed and kept in the field by an active organization so that he can devote time and thought to his engineering job. When he comes to translating his ideas into legislative ideas, then the craft which I represent must play a part. Drafting a bill is no task for a summer afternoon, even after the draftsman knows what his client wants. He must have made an exact study of the law as it exists, of the decisions which may bear upon the constitutional and legal points involved, and in addition he must be familiar with administrative procedure. The draftsman knows that there will be many enemies seeking either to destroy his work entirely or so to restrict it that it cannot operate, and he must try to make it so clear that it cannot be misunderstood by those who will seek to misunderstand. Even after experience flavored with imagination has been made by a clever legislative

shipbuilder into a well-framed bill or amendment, it can only become law if it is steered through the legislative reefs and barriers by a skilful pilot trained in the ways of the committee and the many tricks of opponents—old hands at the game—which he must circumvent as he proceeds.

The experience and the thinking of the socially minded have become living law through organized groups which have had the services of legislative experts and trained draftsmen. If the present economic crisis overcomes that part of American social work, progressive development of our social legislation will suffer a heavy setback.

In the task of building up public opinion, of directing it, and finally of translating into law the needs which they have helped in impressing upon the public have the social workers of my generation been effective, and the proof appears in the statute-books and administrative organizations of nearly all of the forty-eight states of this Union. Truly it has been the little leaven that has leavened the whole lump.

No recital of past history would be complete without some reference to the influence brought to bear on the courts through awakening public opinion. Under our constitutional system every important piece of social legislation must run the gauntlet of the judges—state and federal. How many have not survived this race you all know, but that the devices of the social engineer have a better chance today you also know. In a recent opinion, Chief Justice Hughes shows his understanding of social engineering, although "as through a glass, darkly":

It is manifest from this review of our decisions that there has been a growing appreciation of public needs and of the necessity of finding ground for a rational compromise between individual rights and public welfare. The settlement and consequent contraction of the public domain, the pressure of a constantly increasing density of population, the interrelation of the activities of our people and the complexity of our economic interests, have inevitably led to an increased use of the organization of society in order to protect the very bases of individual opportunity.¹

¹ *Home Bldg. and Loan Ass'n v. Blaisdell*, 54 Sup. Ct. Rep. 231, 241 (1933).

Even in the process of drafting, however, the imminence of court review must always be kept in mind, and to the other difficulties of a draftsman must be added that of couching his legislative idea in such phrases that it will meet the objections which he can foresee will be made by the judges. Not only must the draftsman have at his hand the experience and knowledge of the facts, but he must also be familiar with decisions of the courts and with the method of judicial thinking which will enable him to prepare not only a law which will pass the legislature but one which will pass the reviewing chamber of the courts.

Some may think that this retrospect discloses only a quiet and steady development and no violent clashes with the old order. Those of us, however, who have been through the fight will realize the intensity of feeling which developed on many of these subjects, and the fear that what now seem like mild reforms were the starting of a new era threatening the end of our social system. Those of us whom, I have no doubt, the younger generation now look upon as hopelessly conservative have in our day been held as revolutionaries, as dangerous socialists, and even as Bolsheviks, since that became the popular epithet. This experience leads us to look with less fear on the results of some of the newer experimentation which is going on today, and especially on the experimentation in social insurance.

PRESENT-DAY TRENDS IN SOCIAL LEGISLATION

The most striking present-day tendencies in social legislation have been the lead of the national government and the great increase in the powers vested in the administration. It has been evident that many of the subjects which were being taken care of by the states would have to be dealt with on a national scale, if the regulatory legislation was to be effective in coping with the emergency. It is also natural in a great emergency to turn to an individual chief of the state to vest power in him to deal promptly with the varying situations that arise and to follow

the lead of the chief magistrate elected by all the people. The most striking occurrence in the laws affecting social work has undoubtedly been the great extension of public relief, the practical taking-over by the public of a great share of the work of private relief agencies. This is complicated by the entry, first of the state, and then of the United States, government, as carriers of the relief. While both federal and state contributions are based on the emergency, I think it is becoming increasingly evident that the emergency is no temporary affair, but that the need for great public expenditures of money for relief will continue for some years.

While the state and federal governments are contributing so largely, they are not, however, losing sight of the principle of local responsibility. Although the federal government has now got over the pretense of making loans to the states to help them carry their emergency load, and frankly accepts in principle its obligation to contribute directly, it does so in the main only as sharing a burden of which the states and the localities must also bear their proportion. There are a few emergency exceptions to this rule, and the very interesting principle has crept into the law that the federal government will assume the responsibility for those persons who have no settled habitation in any state, and therefore become a national, and not a local, responsibility. We have long been accustomed to the idea of the state poor. Will the new notion of national poor remain permanently?

While the federal government and the states have assumed the obligation of paying for the relief, the serious duty of distributing it remains a local problem. A federal system of direct distribution of aid is not thinkable, a state system would be contrary to the principle of local responsibility, which plays so large a part in our public life; consequently the distribution agencies still remain, in the main, the local governmental units. But in most cities in the country, and notably in most counties, the local unit is the weakest link in the chain of government. We cannot view without anxiety the turning-over of relief to the cities and counties, especially in view of the vast sums of

money involved and of the heavy human responsibility of society to the unfortunate people whose needs cannot adequately be met even if all the money is wisely and efficiently used. The eggs of relief are collected largely in one basket, and that basket most certainly needs watching.

Here, then, is the great problem of the welfare agencies and the experienced social workers of the country. How can the expenditure in the city of New York of \$16,625,000 in the month of May, and proportionate amounts in other cities and communities, be co-ordinated so as to secure the results commensurate with the sacrifice which the taxpayers of city, state, and nation are making to provide the funds? From the other point of view, how can the experienced social workers and well-meaning people, or groups, in the city prevent the waste and mismanagement of this money? It is one thing to control a fund raised in part from the public by taxes, when there is a large private contribution united with the public money, and it is quite another to be able to continue that control and to protect the interests of taxpayers, and more especially of the unemployed and their dependents, when the whole sum is public money. And the expenditure of this great amount of money—note well—comes at a time when political war chests were never so empty, and it was never so difficult to get places for those who would do the most good to the party and at the same time the least good to the needy. There is everywhere the cry for economy, and city budgets, while they are not being slashed in all cities as they should be, and as they might be, cannot be easily expanded to take care of the faithful, who never needed help so much. Already there has been a certain tendency—and it will become more and more apparent unless it can be checked—for the political leaders to turn to the charity funds, the only item on the budget which is swollen beyond recognition. With that huge sum of money in the hands of the machine, it will be no easy matter to assure that the money will go to those who deserve aid, and not to those who deserve well of the party. Every ward leader knows, furthermore, plenty of

good-hearted and kindly souls in his organization who are well fitted to administer relief and who will not seem to him less fitted by the fact that they have a keen and generous eye for the members of his organization. Assuring skilled and faithful administration of the greatest trust in America today, and in assuring the donors of that trust, the taxpayers, that their money will be used wholly for the purpose for which it was intended, and no part of it will be diverted to strengthening party lines, is the task which lies before us next year. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. It is equally true that organized vigilance is the price of good government, and the social worker is the minute man of the defense of relief funds.

Following the well-established custom of accompanying grants-in-aid by the federal government, with a degree of supervision over the spending of the money granted, the federal government has set up an emergency relief administration, and the states have also created central relief bodies. It is remarkable, however, that since the depression and since the great increase in the burden falling upon local relief administrations, there has been so little legislative betterment of the laws organizing public relief. In New York a hopeful beginning has been made in the statute passed on the eve of the crisis, codifying that century-old jumble, the state poor-law, and organizing city and county relief districts on a modern basis. This act was initiated by the State Charities Aid Association, and is the result of the experience and thought of social workers, notably of that well-known leader in the field, Mr. Homer Folks. It is a special obligation on social workers to see to it that the distribution of public relief be effectively organized to meet a situation which from all appearances will be with us for a very long time, if not permanently. It is only as a result of the experienced advice of social agencies that this can be done. This is an opportunity for reforming antiquated poor-laws, which will not soon return. I do not need to add here, however, that it is as true today as it was when Alexander Pope wrote, that "the law that's best administered is best." I have already said that a good adminis-

tration is only a watched administration, watched to protect the honest and capable and to expose the dishonest and incapable. The experienced group of social workers must take the lead, not only in drafting and passing and amending the law, but in keeping an eye on the public administration.

The legislation of the period through which we are passing is, naturally enough, largely influenced by the urgent need for relief, relief of business enterprises, relief of debtors, and relief of unemployment. There is not space enough in this paper to deal with the first two. It is necessary, however, that we remember that the relief of unemployment is not the only type of relief which has called for federal funds, for the action of Congress and the administration, and it is important that we realize how far the need for immediate relief, the taking-care of urgent situations, has affected any plans which might be made for long-term improvement in our situation. Contrast the great confusion in this country with the comparative steadiness of the national life of Great Britain, and I think you cannot help concluding that unemployment insurance and the relief measures based upon unemployment insurance have been important factors in freeing the minds of men in responsible positions in Britain from the specter of unemployment which has ridden everyone in this country since the dark days began in 1931.

We all are familiar with the different efforts of meeting the unemployment problem in this country. The development of the dole through state and federal authorities, frowned on at first by the federal government but finally fully accepted, has put such a burden upon the unprepared system of administration of relief that it is not surprising that there are indications of improper use of the funds. It is only surprising that there are not more. We know, too, that unemployment has had its consequence in the urge to get men and women back to work, and this has appeared in many work projects, paid for by public money, the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Civil Works Administration, the Public Works Administration. We have adopted a policy never accepted on a wide scale in Great

Britain, and which must one day be carefully re-examined as to its efficiency. When this examination comes, we should bear in mind how far the extra cost of work relief is compensated by a preservation of moral values through work. But the most important result of the near panic, into which the mounting numbers of unemployed threw government and business, was the expedient of reducing hours. The "share-the-work" movement, which is the industrial expression of the expedient, has found a place in the provisions of the federal law limiting to thirty hours a week the amount of time to be worked on federal-aid projects. The "spread-the-work" movement looked to a reduction in weekly pay checks, but its supporters believed that this would be offset by employing more workers. The danger, of course, was that while more people would be at work there would simply be more at work at low wages, so that the relief organization would be relieved through the employment of workers who would otherwise be unemployed, but there would be a reduction in the weekly wages actually received by individual workers. So long as the reduction in cost of living continued, it was an offset to the lessened weekly pay check, but with the cost of living mounting again, the insistent demand that the weekly pay check be increased and not reduced, in spite of lessened hours, is making itself heard. The Recovery Act, while adopting the thirty-hour week, tried to protect living standards by requiring that a reasonable wage be paid. In answer to the demand there have been substantial increases in the hourly wage, but the weekly pay check does not show a corresponding rise since the cut in hours of employment offsets the higher hourly compensation, and it is the weekly pay check that counts, not the hourly wage.

Another effort to reach the wage situation has been the minimum-wage provision set up on a national basis under the codes and provided for by state minimum-wage boards, of which several new ones were created in 1933. Minimum wage, either established by codes or by boards, has been an important contribution to the war on the worst sort of "chiseler"—he who cut

costs of manufacture through cutting wages. In the industry with which I happen to be most familiar, the clothing trade in New York, he brought them down almost, if not quite, to the vanishing-point. A renewed public consciousness of the importance of preventing chiseling by wage-cutting in certain industries has resulted in a new interest in home-work legislation and a betterment of the provisions of the law in some of the states, but this home-work legislation is worthless without fearless and efficient administration.

RELATION OF STATE AND FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION

This leads me back to the trend toward better administration as an object in which social workers in particular should be especially interested, and I am led to the importance of thoughtful consideration of the value of preserving the state administrative system in social legislation, although we may turn to federal standards to improve the laws which the states will administer.

You are all familiar with the many ways in which federal standards may be set up. There is the grant-in-aid by which the federal government makes a grant to the states for a state activity and sets up conditions with which the state must comply, and there is the federal statute controlling interstate and foreign commerce, or based on the taxing power, which practically makes it necessary for the states to set up similar laws of their own. A recent permanent expression of federal and state co-operation is the interesting Wagner Act for a national employment system, and "for co-operation with the states in the promotion of such system." The Act recognizes that an employment system is mainly local, but that to be most effective it must be organized in state units with a national system co-operating with all the state systems and filling the local gaps, as well as providing for those parts of the service which can only be dealt with nationally. The supervisory power of the government, enforced through its right to grant or to take away money from designated state services, has, as far as I know, been wisely

and moderately used, and has put at the service of the states the greater resources in research and experience of the government. The government officers have not been looked upon by the state administrative officers, I take it, as lions going about seeking what they could devour, but as friendly humans finding ways and means of helping their state brothers better to do the task to which they had been set.

The most recent effort in persuading states to improve their legislation through the tax method is the bill now under consideration at Washington by which a tax will be laid on employers from which they will be entitled to deduct any amounts which they have paid as contributions to an unemployment-insurance or reserve system in their states. To put it mildly, this will probably make the unemployment-insurance experts or part-experts work overtime, and instead of being among the most unwelcome of the visitors at state capitals and at the meetings of the employers' associations, they will be welcomed in those august assemblages and be sought for to show how they can save to their own state and their own workmen the money which would otherwise go into the coffers of that monopolist, Uncle Sam. Under this bill, as in grant-in-aid statutes, no attempt is made to administer unemployment insurance, but the states will be left to administer their own systems, subject to broad federal standards, and a degree of federal supervision which should bear very lightly on those administrations which are honestly trying to live up to the law.

I am led in this connection to speak of the child-labor amendment and its effect upon state administration and state legislation. As an unashamed advocate of the first child-labor laws, let me say that if I thought that under the proposed amendment there was danger that Congress would oust the states, and take to itself the task of preparing legislation which would fit the conditions of Wisconsin and Louisiana, of New York, and South Carolina, I would heartily oppose it, for monopoly of legislation would mean monopoly of administration, and not only the cost but the clumsiness of enforcing a child-labor law in

every factory, by federal officers, would be self-defeating. What is sought is to use the federal power to set a standard below which states cannot fall. The ideal of a federal child-labor law would be that it should itself never be enforced, but that the states should at least equal it in their domestic statutes, and that they with their own machinery should enforce their own laws in the way best suited to their own customs and their own people. The supervision of the federal authorities will be successful only if it is little used, and it will be most successful when it is not used at all.

The frank object of much of the federal legislation which we have been discussing, and notably of the unemployment-insurance bill and of the child-labor amendment, has been to bring pressure to bear upon the states to act in concert on social reforms and get rid of the old argument that a particular bill was perhaps a wise reform, only it would cause too heavy a burden to the particular state, and should only be considered if other similarly situated states put upon their industry the same burden. There has lately been suggested a different kind of cure for state particularism. Years ago the dean of the legislative drafters of the country, Ernst Freund of Chicago, suggested that use be made of the provision of the Constitution which allows the states, with the consent of Congress, to make compacts with one another. He thought that a group of manufacturing states might be more willing to go ahead with progressive labor legislation which might cost enough money to prevent any one state from assuming the burden. The procedure would be for the states to prepare a set of standards which they would agree to live up to, then go to Congress, get the blessing of that august body to the compact, and put it into effect by local legislation. There is just now a movement of the sort in New England. Congress has been asked—or will soon be asked—to give a general blessing to such compacts. There are many difficulties possible in this scheme, and it will have to be used with caution. A compact is under the aegis of the federal judges. Any situation which will bring state labor legislation into the Supreme

Court, and which will make it more difficult to amend labor laws, must be carefully scrutinized, and the states must watch the terms of their compacts sharply to be sure that they are not limiting themselves too far by the terms of their agreements. It is, of course, possible to limit a compact to a short period of time. That will undoubtedly always be done, but even then we all know how acquired rights grow up under any system and how those benefiting by them cry out in any threatened change.

EFFORT AT SOCIAL PLANNING

What we are all thinking most about at this time is the great effort at social planning which is embodied in such federal legislation as the Agricultural Adjustment Act and the National Industrial Recovery Act. Space will force me to limit myself to the N.R.A., which bears rather more directly on our problem. There are three broad principles in the N.R.A. on which we should focus attention. First, the effort to create self-government in industry under the direct control of the President; second, the regulation of business on a national rather than on a state basis through the setting-up of the national codes; and, third, the very wide regulatory power vested in the President by the grant to him of the authority to approve the codes, to suggest amendments in them, and where necessary himself to promulgate a code for an industry. To accord with the Constitution, the Act is limited to interstate and foreign commerce, but regulation under it extends to all business, even intrastate. The states have recognized that this should be so by very generally passing statutes which adopt the federal law and the federal codes and equip them with the enforcement machinery which each legislature thinks appropriate to its own jurisdiction.

The increase of hourly wages, the increase of the number of persons employed, and the tendency toward fixing prices have borne heavily upon many of the smaller industries, and there is now a vigorous protest which may have the effect of limiting the

codes to the great industries which are obviously national, and remove the hand of the federal government from the smaller branches of business which can be more readily dealt with by the states. A natural division between the areas covered by state and federal code-making appears to be developing, emphasizing the importance of the principle—render to the federal government the things that are national and to the state government the things that pertain to the state.

What are the things of the federal government is brought out by the fact that only by a national system could the cotton-manufacturing industry have established a minimum wage effective in South Carolina as in Massachusetts, stopped night work, and limited hours of employment. It is worth careful thought from such groups as the National Conference of Social Work as to how far the evidence shows we must continue along the lines of federal regulation. Regulation apparently there must be, for we appear to have definitely abandoned the economic theory of free competition, and have determined to enter that of regulated competition if we do not go farther. Regulated competition, however, means regulation by public authority, even if it is limited to approval of ordinances self-made by business and providing means for watching the preparation of those ordinances and for supervising them. The abandonment of the economic theory of free competition also calls for a reconsideration of the whole question of the relations of labor and capital. While the code under the N.R.A. is drawn by representatives of business, labor is given an opportunity to be heard before the President, in advance of his acceptance of the code. Further than that, there are certain principles laid down in the famous section 7 (a) which are intended to preserve the rights of labor in all codes, and especially the right of collective bargaining. The great contest which has arisen over the company union and American federation unions, with the left-wing labor organizations as a third party, and as to whether the craft union can survive or whether some form of industrial union must take

its place, at least in the industries like steel or automobiles, which are not now organized, is still far from being settled, and it will take all of the great persuasive powers of the President, together with the prestige of his office, to preserve industrial peace in the period which we are entering. Let me say, however, that if industry is to be organized on a national basis under the codes, and if labor is to be effectively heard at the making and the amendment of the codes, there must be national spokesmen for employees. How these national spokesmen can be evolved through the institution of company unions or through the criss-cross of craft unions, into which the industries in a single code may be divided, is a problem which will demand the most careful thinking, and it becomes even more complicated if within a single industry part of the plants are covered by company unions and part by unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

I have said that the N.R.A. represents an apogee of the tendency toward vesting in the administrative authority the power to make the rules which control human relations. Under very broad limitations, it is the President, in his approval of codes or through the forcing of codes upon recalcitrant industries, who makes the law. Though the N.R.A. shows it on a wider scale than we have heretofore seen, lawmaking by regulation is no novelty, and it is necessary if the N.R.A. is to continue. It would be impossible for a legislative body to deal with the many detailed differences in different forms of business which are involved in the codes. Even a minimum wage for all industry in the whole country could not be laid down by statute, but must be left for adjustments to each branch of industry. Quick amendment in response to errors in drafting the original rule, or evidence of its ineffectiveness in practice, can be made only by the prompt action of an administrative authority.

For both of these reasons the minimum wage acts of the states vest in an administrative board the power to act in specific cases. Another instance is the way in which the states have

been vesting in their labor authorities the right to make and amend labor regulations under a general principle, such as that work-places shall be safe. In New York these regulations were worked out in their limited field much as the codes are to be worked out, by consultation between the administrative authority and the employers in each industry, with the aid of the employees, so that the codes, while operating on a much wider scale, are based on an experiment which has long been successfully going on in the President's home state.

THE COMMON GOALS OF LABOR AND SOCIAL WORK

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ONE cannot come to the Middle West, and especially to this region which is so interlocked with the whole dynamic life of the Far West and the Southwest of our country, without first of all being conscious of how very recent is our history. There are living in this community those who traveled by covered wagons, those who can remember the pioneering to the farther West. The span of one hundred years or distinctly less can cover our history, a very inspiring history, a very precious tradition of faith in the creative opportunities involved in the building of a society on this continent, a willingness to pioneer, to face new ways leading to new issues. Those are the qualities which are still here in our country.

But our development has paradoxically combined radicalism in technical and technological matters with conservatism in social thought. I suppose the reason is that in a new country a people going out into a new region necessarily clings to its background, wishing not to be entirely cut off; willing to face the technical problems of work and of the development of a nation, but anxious, too, to be attached to the past, to cling to accustomed social institutions and social relationships as a mooring, or an anchor.

If I may take an illustration from the East, I would say that the design of some of our skyscrapers in New York illustrates, on the one hand, extraordinary engineering initiative, shown in working out the new problems involved in balancing a high structure on a narrow base; and, on the other hand, architectural traditionalism, shown in decoration consisting of gargoyles from medieval cathedrals. Similarly, we desire not to break

with the past in our social thinking, but to use it at least as decoration.

A sense of the characteristic achievements of American life comes to us in an overwhelming way in these western parts of the country. We must not forget, of course, the pioneering spirit of those who settled on the eastern seaboard, and the fact that from the eastern seaboard came the movement toward the West. Essentially the spirit and the ideals of American life are a common heritage. Here on this continent we have been busily building the material base, the material equipment, gaining the knowledge, the science, for technical application for social ends; and are we to be bewildered and discouraged if the social structure has not yet corresponded to the engineering structure, and if there are elements in the social structure, including, of course, its economic framework, which do not give free play to this creative power of American life?

This creative power I would define as work directed toward the widening of the base upon which can be built a true culture. By a true culture I mean not something apart, like the gargoyles on a skyscraper, but beauty which is inherent in a co-ordinated community, in which no man may exploit another man, in which all class divisions resting on differences in economic power are eliminated, in which there is no need to maintain private possessions by force, but in which there is a common interest whatever the scientist, the technician, and the engineer for the first time gain full freedom to create in the service of society. Such community builders would not be limited to the isolated construction of some one building, but would plan communities as a whole, freed from the obstructions existing because land value here is too high and because there a piece of land has been held out of use for speculation. The wide base of collective organization would free community planning from these limitations.

The ideas of the collective and the co-operative are, moreover, keynotes of American life. Americans tend to draw together in groups. We are happier when we are working in as-

sociation, be it the small committee or the whole community, aroused to tremendous interest in some local issue. But today we are continually divided by conflicting interests, trying to face in two directions at once.

In discussing "The Common Goals of Labor and Social Work," I wish to think with you more precisely about what the American approach may be toward these goals, which must involve as prerequisites the elimination of unemployment and the attainment of security.

At this point I would rather change the subject to a common program of labor and social work toward goals which are not to be described merely as the aims of social work and labor, but which, if they have validity, and if they are far-reaching enough to carry us out of our present deep distress, are the goals of humanity. If this country can be united in a movement toward the true goals of humanity for this generation, this will mean that America will fulfil her destiny in the whole world, because only by creation of the socialized order, based upon the collective economic life, shall we eliminate at their roots the causes of war between nations, the causes of bitter conflict and struggle between different divisions of the human race in different parts of the world.

But in considering this far-distant view, I would not for a moment carry your attention away from the immediate issues, because the immediate issues and what we do about them will determine whether we are ready or fit to strive for the distant goals, and, moreover, will prepare us to strive effectively. That is why a local situation, a given issue, must be met at the moment when it arises—not postponed for some distant time; it must be met with the principles which we draw out of the larger view.

Now I want to draw these principles out of the experience of social work and of labor; and if I touch a personal note and speak of the particular experience out of which I draw this material, it is by way of establishing objective grounds for this joint consideration rather than with any desire to be more per-

sonal than simply to tell you what a privilege I have had in my work in these last three decades. I describe it here because it closely relates to the twofold subject; for the opportunity which I have had to be in touch with labor has been an opportunity given me by social work.

The beginnings were in a fellowship in the College Settlement in New York. The settlement movement in this country, coming in the early nineties, was the effort of men and women from universities and colleges to go into working-class neighborhoods and to share experience and life, and out of actually living in those neighborhoods to strive, together with the neighbors, for a change in the community, for better housing, better health, better municipal government. The settlement workers of those early days had a far vision and an immediate democratic method of working toward that far vision. The settlement movement represents a close study of the daily life of the people of the community who are the most underprivileged, with the desire of so changing conditions that instead of going perpetually to help the underprivileged there will be no longer any underprivileged. Those early settlement workers were in protest against the relief-giving of the old charitable movement. They wanted to do something much more than give relief. They wanted to join in a democratic way with the workers themselves.

I shall not dwell upon the settlement movement more than to say that those early ideals were social and political, but that the settlements, like certain other branches of social work, while setting a standard for constructive effort, have nevertheless failed to touch the deeper economic foundations upon which must be built the social democracy and the political integrity of city, state, or nation.

But in some of the settlements the possibility was offered of studying and recording the daily life of the industrial worker. My particular opportunity in the College Settlement in New York began with the simple problem: Why are the girls in the clubs prevented so often from coming to meetings because they

are working long hours overtime? Why do we not prevent, by law, in New York State, these long hours of overtime? Beginning thus and getting the information from the workers themselves, set a pattern for a method of collecting facts about human conditions and relations which it has been my privilege to be able to continue through these years in close association with social workers who are in day-to-day touch with the workers.

I must add to the picture the opportunities for association with persons in other countries which I might describe as culminating in two big experiences. One was the experience of the International Conference of Social Work, where in July, 1932, there gathered at Frankfort-am-Main in Southern Germany one thousand social workers, among them a group of our own representatives. They came from between thirty and forty nations to pool their experiences in public and private social work. The Conference was held just before the establishment of the dictatorship in Berlin, in the midst of the movement which led to the establishment of the Nazis in Germany and the actual casting-out of their offices of a large number of social workers who were in that Conference and who have now been deprived of the opportunity to go on with the extraordinary social program of Germany under the republic. Not only from Germany, but from Austria, from Roumania, from England, from France, from the United States, from Australia, and from South Africa came these workers, saying that social work, public and private, could go no farther so long as the causes of distress in the economic systems of these countries continue; and that the danger of war was imminent, growing out of disordered economic structures reflecting themselves inevitably in disordered international relations.

The second international experience—which did more for me than the negative conclusions of the International Conference of Social Work—was the World Social Economic Congress at Amsterdam in 1931. In preparation for that Congress, of which I was chairman of the Program Committee, we had studies

made in eight countries or regions of the world, covering fluctuations in employment and unemployment during a period of twenty years, from 1910 to 1930. These countries were the United States, Canada, Australia, China (as typical of the Far East), Germany, France, England, and Russia, both pre-war and since the establishment of the Soviet Union. You will see that these represent a great variety of regions from the point of view of modern industry, from agrarian countries to highly industrialized nations.

These studies set the problem before us: What is to be done? This was in 1931, at a moment when several international economic conferences were going on, in which the whole question of debts and international relations was being considered. First the bankers got together and said: "The trouble is political. The prime ministers must solve it." And then the prime ministers got together and said: "The trouble is with international trade. The bankers must solve it." And when at the Bank for International Settlements, following one of these committee meetings of the bankers, some of us had an opportunity to talk with the managing director, we were told that the banking system knew no way except to extend credit for further production and thus still further to unbalance economy, whereas what was needed was credit to the consumer, which the banking system had not yet learned to extend. And the picture was of a world unable to act on its problems, a world nevertheless—and this was shown in another paper prepared for the Congress—where productive capacity had reached a level never before dreamed of—a level at which, as the economist preparing this paper, Dr. Otto Neurath of Vienna, declared, "Malthus was wrong," since increase in productive capacity had been greater than growth of population.

Then came a discussion of remedies, from the extreme *laissez faire* groups, who said that the true economic *laissez faire* system had not been tried, to the analysts of international cartels, who drew the conclusion that the international cartel had nothing to show in the way of better service to the consumer, but

could show only restriction of production with quotas and division of markets, designed to raise prices. These restrictions, indeed, were held responsible by a number of the economists in this Congress for the great slump which had come in 1929 because the raising of prices had led to inability to control production. For example, as the price of copper was raised by agreement, it was not possible to hold back with strong-enough dikes the tide of competition and prevent the opening of new copper mines in Africa. In the great world-markets raw materials poured in, and then came the terrific slump, directly attributable to a desire to restrict production—a planned economy of restriction which met its own destruction because it could not control production. The conclusion was inescapable that the only sound planned economy is that which plans for full utilization of the full productive capacity of a nation and of the world.

This Congress was also the first occasion when a delegation from the Soviet Union had come to report to the Western world on its methods of developing a planned economy. In the following year I had an opportunity to study in the Soviet Union a subject upon which we in the Russell Sage Foundation had been at work intermittently for some fifteen years, namely, the organization of the coal industry. Our investigations had been focused upon the United States, while at the same time we had been studying the comparative statistics of the coal industry in Germany under a cartel system.

The four principal coal-producing countries of the world are the United States, England, Germany, and the Soviet Union. The United States, England, and Germany all have a very similar method of attempting to control production. We have the N.R.A. In Great Britain the Coal Act gives the coal operators the right to plan what they call "schemes"; we call them "codes." Germany has had cartels, into which the state has entered and the trade-union has participated in a very elaborate plan, but its essence again is the division of the market in order to control production.

An interesting incident occurred when, in 1928, I happened

to be in Berlin, asking questions about this international coal cartel; I learned that several representatives from Great Britain had recently been there, trying to work out some method of eliminating competition in the foreign markets, which was going on between the organized British industry and the organized German industry; the German coal cartels were selling in certain foreign markets at prices below the cost of production in order to open up these markets to the disadvantage of Great Britain; incidentally, consumers in Berlin were paying a higher price to make up the difference.

Thus the competitive struggle is only extended by these combinations; and now the competitive system, despite its international combinations, is in great difficulties.

I shall not discuss the organization of the coal industry in this country, because recently I have had to prepare a report on that subject; so I shall let the written word stand. But I want to add to this record, so to speak, of the sources from which I am drawing what I have to say, the experience of going into coal mines in the Soviet Union and seeing the mining communities, in an inquiry into the method of planning the coal industry and the participation of the rank and file of the miners in the making of the plan for their industry.

It was just at the close of the first Five-Year Plan in the summer of 1932, and the second Five-Year Plan was in the process of making. Under the Main Fuel Administration, which is divided into some six regional trusts, with the trade-union participating at all points, was developing before our eyes a most extraordinary procedure. First of all, the main objectives of the second Five-Year Plan had been put before the country, namely, the continuance of the program of increased industrialization, with the new possibility of developing consumers' goods. And then came the procedure of determining the rate of developing the machine-tool industry to accomplish these objectives; then how much coal would be needed to produce the necessary amount of pig iron, these plans in turn calling for new facilities in transportation. The figure for the amount of coal

to be produced was sent to the mines, where committees of technical men and of miners discussed it and in the local mine brought together material which in turn was brought to the regional trust, the administrative unit; and then there gathered in Moscow a group of over six hundred representatives of the coal-mining industry, the miners themselves and the technicians, the management of the mines and the workers, all directing their attention toward the problem of how to produce the amount of coal required for the next stage in the planned economy. The women will be interested in knowing that women engineers in the coal industry took part in that conference.

Out of that assembly came a combination of the plans from all the separate units. These planners said in effect to the "Gosplan," the State Planning Commission: "We can produce more than you ask of us if you will give us more machinery, or if you will experiment along certain lines with what we believe may be a more efficient utilization of coal." All along the line the scientific institutions were given the task of working out the problems of the preparation of coal and its full utilization, so that the expenditure of energy would get its largest return.

With the figures prepared and presented, it was then the part of the State Planning Commission to do what they called "balancing." There have been some twenty other conferences held, including those on education and health and cultural service; the Gosplan's staff had to balance the claims for more money to put into machinery here, and for a larger budget for a piece of scientific research there. They had to balance all these claims and see which were the most necessary into which to put the social surplus—the form which profits take in the Soviet Union.

Through this process of balancing the State Planning Commission worked out the plan to be announced to the industries. But that plan was not yet finished. There followed what is called "counterplanning," the sending of this draft plan back to the committees that had originally worked on it in the various workplaces, for them to comment on it, checking it by their

local experience. It has been the experience of counterplanning that the workers usually raise the quota of production as compared with the national plan, which tends to be more conservative. After the counterplan has been adopted in final form by the State Planning Commission, it is sent to the All-Union Congress of Soviets, the supreme legislative authority. The word "soviet" means simply "council" or "committee," and the All-Union Congress of Soviets is composed of representatives of the workers in the soviets in all workplaces, mines, factories, and peasant villages.

That was the picture of the process of making the economic plan in the Soviet Union which had been outlined at the World Social Economic Congress, where other speakers had revealed the difference between this planned economy and the efforts at economic planning and financial planning which were going on in other countries. A number of nations had developed national economic councils, having an advisory relationship to industry, but these were not able to plan for the complete integration of the national economy in a unified plan.

I give you this conclusion not for the purpose of telling you that the Soviet system of Russia must be transplanted at once to America. We have so much greater industrial equipment here that the specific problems would be entirely different. Nevertheless the clear-cut conclusion which one must draw from such a study of the processes of planning is that a planned economy is only as extensive as the ownership and control of industry which is to be planned. For example, to attempt to plan the coal industry of the United States today is mere guesswork, when it is not clear how much coal the steel industry will need, or how much coal the railroads will need, or how much goods they will have to carry, since these requirements all depend upon ultimate purchasing power, and that, in a competitive, profit-making system, is only a matter of hopeful wishing and not a result of definite planning. Thus it is impossible to plan the coal industry under those circumstances, because the main question of planning, namely, how much to produce, is a guess,

dependent upon the whole of the rest of the national economy, broken up into many, competing private ownerships.

For example, the effort to plan the coal industry under the N.R.A. has already run afoul of the Tennessee Valley authority's development of hydroelectric power, since the development of hydroelectric power stations is going to put coal mines out of business. Again, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is in trouble with the National Coal Association through loaning money for pipe lines, because that increases the competition between coal and natural gas. Moreover, the Oil Administration in the Department of the Interior must protect itself against the competition of coal and hydroelectric power. And altogether they are in conflict, one with another, all of them guessing at how much the market will be, all of them wishing to put the level of total production at a low-enough point—for what purpose? To develop standards of living? To use our natural resources in a planned production? No. To maintain prices and thereby profits. No one will take issue with me, I am sure, that profit-making is the present objective. This objective creates the struggle for markets which makes a planned economy impossible.

In contrast with this destructive struggle is the straight goal along the line of the human interests of social work and of labor, which are served by use and not by profit. I am going to take as an example the railroad industry. I call your attention to a report described in the *New York Times* of April 27. It was the result of a study made by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics and the railroad workers' unions. One thousand families of employed railroad men were studied to determine the effects of the depression upon their homes, and the conclusion in the headlines is: "Rail men's homes hit by depression. Survey shows savings wiped out and general reduction in living standards. Many demoted in jobs. Some families are shown to have been short of food and others without recreation." The article stated:

The depression deprived many families of their homes, wiped out their savings, compelled them to borrow on life insurance policies, caused cancella-

tion of accident insurance policies, resulted in large debts and lowered living standards. Some families have had no milk for three or four years, while simple recreational activities such as Sunday car rides to public parks or occasional attendance at a motion picture theatre have long since been abandoned.

Yet railroad men are supposed to be the most favored group among American workers.

And then the report goes on to say that not only have the railroad men lost their savings, in part through the closing of banks, and suffered a further loss in earnings through the 10 per cent cut established on February 1, 1932, simultaneously with large loans by the government to the railroads, but that in their communities the curtailment of school facilities, of recreational facilities on a public scale, and more particularly of hospital care and free health service have still further lowered the standards of living of the railroad workers.

Now there in a clear-cut instance is an illustration of the immediate common goals of labor and social work, namely, maintenance of standards of living, both for individuals and for the community. The railroad men surely want those standards maintained, and social work, particularly in these last few years, has repeatedly declared that it is not primarily an agency for relief in emergency, in disaster and industrial depressions, but that it is representative of the common good will of those who seek to bring expert knowledge to bear upon recreational developments, community planning, better housing, and the whole program of social legislation and public services, as well as specific experiments in model housing, in health and nursing service, often carried on first under private auspices and then transferred to public auspices. Those have been characteristic activities of social workers which interest us all as permanent goals.

The labor groups have had the same general aim. They have sought to maintain the standards of living of the workers; to ask that the return in the pay envelope bear some proportion to the productivity of labor; to ask that there be leisure, growing also out of the increased productivity of labor.

I wish to call your attention to a very important study which shows that this railroad workers' problem is not an isolated problem in the national economy. It is a study made by the Department of Commerce and just published by the Government Printing Office. It is called *The National Income, 1929-1932*, and it shows that in that period the national income declined in 1932 to 47 per cent of what it had been in 1929, but that this decline bore very unequally upon the receivers of income from production. The difference in decline, as stated in this report, was that the earnings of salaried workers declined 41 per cent while total wages declined 60 per cent, and "property incomes have held up in comparison, the decline from 1929 to 1932 having been only 31 per cent."

This result is in part the reflection of a governmental policy designed to maintain property incomes, successful, however, only to a limited degree because necessarily the income of property-owners cannot be maintained if the total income declines 47 per cent. But, proportionately, the government loans, plus the various devices of living off reserves and the like, have been sufficient to maintain property income so that it declined only 31 per cent in comparison with the total decline of 47 per cent. But the decline in total salaries was 41 per cent, and the decline in wages 60 per cent.

In economic terms that decline should be measured as loss of power to consume, which is greater than the decline in income from property, only part of which goes into ultimate consumption, while the rest goes into further investment in production; and that, too, in a period when the decline in purchasing power is already too great to sustain the existing structure and therefore the wealth invested in the economic structure loses its value.

The discrepancy is not a condition which is true only of the years 1929-32. The Bureau of Labor Statistics has made an analysis of data in the national census from 1849 to 1929, showing, to put it briefly, that during the first fifty years, from 1849 to 1899, the value of the product per worker increased 130 per

cent, but the share of wages in the value of the product decreased 23.2 per cent; from 1849 to 1929, over an eighty-year period, to use just two figures, the average yearly earnings of wage-earners increased 431.5 per cent, but the value of products per wage-earner increased 651.7 per cent. Thus the share of wages in the value of the product decreased 29.2 per cent.

The objection is made that it is not increase in the skill of the individual worker, but increase in mechanization, which produces this increase in the value of the product per wage-earner. But the point is that a growing discrepancy between consumers' buying power, which of course comes primarily through the pay envelope, and increased productivity, whether due to machinery or skill of the worker, or method of organization, or any other factor, should have been a danger signal to us long ago that we were bound to run into a situation where not only were the so-called surplus workers thrown out of work, but their unemployment in cumulative measure reduced the workers' power of purchase, threw other workers out of employment, decreased the total wealth of the country, and thus wiped out values. Thereafter the greater the effort to maintain property income by credit, the greater the discrepancy between the two elements in a planned economy—the element of consumption and the element of production; the heavier the burden of debt placed by the extension of credit, the more serious the drain upon the production of the country. Instead of working on the economic and managerial problem of setting consumption free, we have worked in the direction of restricting production and lowering wages, and that is self-defeating and drives us farther and farther along the road of distress.

Against both of those measures the labor movement and the social workers, more or less consciously, not with fully articulate expression, recognize a common stake in providing the economic base for higher standards of living of the workers and for the community. These higher standards, in the last analysis, can come only out of planning to release consumption and not out of combining to restrict production.

And now, what has been revealed in this Conference during this week? A number of speakers, including official spokesmen from Washington, have told us that social workers must get ready for a continuing load of public relief. Indeed, the director of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration has said that we cannot expect to avoid industrial depressions. We must just make a social plan, and we must have unemployment insurance and sickness insurance and other measures to take care of hazards to security of life.

Of course that is true. We must immediately put into effect these social insurances to compensate for the immediate hazards to economic security. But the implication is that we are going to have a continuing group of the unemployed in this country, perhaps two or three million families, on relief; I believe that the number is now four million. Yet we are told by the Administration's spokesman that unemployment insurance at best should extend only from eight to thirteen weeks, and that thereafter an unemployed worker should rely upon a public-works program, though such a program has never yet given employment on an adequate scale. Finally, the worker still unemployed after a year would receive relief.

For this Conference to go home with this conclusion, amply supported in the experience of the present Administration under its present policy, that we are going to face a long period of continued unemployment, is a counsel of despair for the nation. This should not be the last word of this Conference to the country. Moreover, confidence that such long-continued, extensive unemployment can be taken care of by present unsound taxation is another counsel of despair.

This unscientifically organized taxation system presses upon the small home-owner, upon the farmer, upon the small business man, upon all workers, directly or indirectly, through carrying the burdens of debt resting upon production. To believe that this form of taxation is a permanent way out, either for relief of the unemployed or for the economic system of the country, is simply to conclude that this nation has neither intelligence nor

good will to apply to its economic problem; and that has not been true of the United States. We are close enough to the pioneers to recover some of their spirit, if we are inclined to be so pessimistic as that.

It is not possible to conceive of any such continued burden, because, on the one hand, the workers of this country cannot be expected to accept this low subsistence level, and to live on a pittance of uncertain relief; nor can our economic system stand taxation which lays such a burden of debt upon the productive resources of this country, binding what otherwise would be the giant of American life, binding hand and foot the workers of this nation so that it is unable to fulfil America's destiny. And for what purpose? Because we want to return to some former period of time? Or is it because we wish to maintain the profit system at any cost, regardless of whether it is to throw into deep and continuing distress the farmer, the wage-earner, the professional worker, the small business man, while also destroying at the source the wealth which produces even the profits themselves?

We are learning a lesson in economics. It is a call not to be too traditional in our thinking on social questions, but to be as bold in our application of new techniques as we are in the scrapping of an old machine and trying out a new one. Experience both positive and negative, not only in our country but in other countries, has developed what I might call, to use a large word, a "methodology" of planned economy. We have in this country, in the very implications of this present negative outlook, the ability, the knowledge, and the resources to reverse the process, to choose not the negative and the destructive but the positive; to refuse to bind our energies and sacrifice whole classes of the population to the continuation of an un-American economic oligarchy, when what we have always believed in is work—not living on the work of others. The pioneers who came to America never intended to establish a leisure class, living on the work of others. They came to work themselves, and their efforts and those of the workers who have followed them—the

farmers, the engineers, the technicians, the professional and industrial workers—have built up this structure. Upon this material base have been erected our services of civilization, of culture, education, recreation, art, and music, and all of the environment and attitudes for appreciation of these things.

But this should not be a pyramid, with these advantages at the narrow point at the top and a long base line at the bottom—the dispossessed workers, never permitted to enjoy the leisure-time activities which their productivity makes possible. Civilization must be not a pyramid, but a circle or a sphere, so that the production of material things at the center is taken care of in relation to the other segments and it is planned so that it radiates out into the cultural services, which are in turn made accessible to all the workers at the center.

The question has repeatedly been asked me: Must we have revolution? Must we have bloodshed? Must we go through chaos to achieve these goals? Generally the question comes from persons who are unable to picture what this new society might be, and hence the method of achieving it seems to involve deeper chaos than we are already experiencing. Most of us fail to see the picture clearly.

What I contend is that a collective society is not utopian. We can take this book on the national income and examine what made up the national income at the high point of 1929. Even in 1929 we had a much larger productive capacity than we used, but we can estimate how high the standards of living might be today if we were able to restore even the production of 1929; we can determine how much income we could put into housing, how much we could put into the public-school system, how much we would need for further development of mechanization in order to decrease the burdens upon the workers. And we could find a surplus available by eliminating the wastes of unplanned production.

Now we fear mechanization lest it throw people out of work. Certainly it is a very stupid, irrational attitude to take that the easier the work, the harder the experience of life must become, because the easing of work will only produce great distress for

large numbers in the population by throwing them out of work, instead of making possible the sharing of leisure and the lifting of burdens, and hence the setting-free of technical men to devise still more labor-saving machinery for the good of us all.

Let us take that book then, those exact figures of our production. Then let us see at what points we ought to increase our productive capacity; let us see at what points the whole plan can be made for the full development of productive capacity of our farms. We can use the full productive capacity and we can feed other nations as well as our own, if we are concerned not with exploiting them but with actually exchanging goods and services with them in a planned economy which is not limited to one country, but into which any country can enter rationally only if it first plans its own economy.

Then think what this would do for our race relations. We are deluded when we believe that there are fundamental racial antagonisms, that there must be anti-Semitic feeling, and that necessarily there is hostility between Negroes and whites. There is no such biological or social necessity. If we trace it back, it arises out of this same exploitation of man by man, whereby races in different parts of the world have been fields for exploitation, for profit's sake, for expansion of markets and the struggle for markets, which has overlooked human issues. If there were no such things as exploitation of man by man, there would be no such thing as racial antagonism. There can be full racial co-operation.

Among the assets of this country of ours in the building of a new society are the Negro people, with all that they have to contribute to the upbuilding of American life; there is also the precious asset of those who have come from other countries, linking us with the whole world. If America means anything distinctive in history, surely it means this marvelous, inclusive bringing-together, in co-operation, of representatives of all branches of the human race on this globe, and that in itself should give us a picture of what may come through the contribution of America toward world-life.

But now again are we, therefore, to choose between an effort

to patch up the present system and the chaos, which is supposed to be inevitable if a change is made; fearing to flee from the thing we have and know, bad as it is, to the things that we do not know? That is not the choice. This nation has at the present moment resources both material and human. Those who wish to hold to the *status quo*, by threat of disaster if the new is advocated, are tolerating the defects which are destroying our resources. The gifts that we have, out of which to build the new, are of the essence of American life. The first is its skill in management. This has been the country of origin of the scientific management movement. In addition, this nation has its natural resources, its industrial skill and equipment, and, characteristically, its people, their good will and democratic dislike of class distinctions.

In pointing out that class conflict and the class struggle are inevitable in our economic system, I do not ignore the fact that we shall perhaps have modifying influences in the struggle because the technicians and the professional men of America have not, on the whole, secluded themselves in the socially stratified, privileged classes of the older European countries. A fellowship exists between all who work in America, including the professional groups. Many of our small business men and managers of industry may be able to get the vision of being able to serve a new society—especially the managers of industry whose management is a matter of skill. But the management of industry which can force its policies through because it represents distant owners who have all the power should not continue to control. It must step aside in American life.

But that is not the scientific management movement. Frederick W. Taylor said, in effect: "Who is boss in the workshop? The boss in the workshop is Knowledge. Knowledge is the master who must be served by the worker at the bench, by the foreman, by the manager—not Force."

And with that power to manage industry, with the ideals of democracy which we have among our American people, we can create the new social order. It will come only when the majority

of the people are convinced that it is needed, and that it is possible. There should be no prolonged conflict to secure it, particularly when the old has so miserably failed to serve the people. This is not to say that violence may not come and that force may not be necessary. We must avoid at all hazards committing ourselves to the sort of pacifism that becomes defeatism at the historical moment of American life.

What is involved here is a shift of power from ownership to work, including the work of the industrial workers, the farmers, the professional workers, the intellectual workers, the experts in scientific management. The shift in power from ownership to work is a shift in the fundamental principle of the organization of our society. It involves human beings. At the present moment the ownership of industry has also a tremendous control of the instruments of government. Day by day that statement is being proved in the violence directed against workers and strikers. Revolution and bloodshed are not a matter of the future. They are a matter of a long past of violence against the workers. Those of us who say "Let us have evolution and not revolution"; those who say "Don't let us go into chaos; let us just patch up the old"—those people are really supporting the old; they are swinging their support to the *status quo*.

It is our part, consistently and constantly, to call attention to the source of violence. Violence comes from a desire to hold possessions, to hold possession of property; and property-owners and the government which is serving property-owners must be held responsible for violence in the conflict for human rights. But at the same time there must be no preaching of peace where there is no peace.

It lies with the working class, with which social workers have the bond of common goals, to transform the principle of government and of industry alike from possession to creative work, which has been America's primary source of power in the building of this nation.

ADEQUATE HEALTH SERVICE FOR ALL THE PEOPLE

*John A. Kingsbury, Director, Milbank Memorial Fund
New York City*

I

TODAY medicine means vastly more than the services of the physician. It embraces specialists of many kinds—dentists, hospital staffs, medical and other social workers, nurses, pharmacists, X-ray operators, bacteriologists, chemists, physicists, and a host of other workers, skilled and unskilled. It includes health officers, visiting nurses, experts on health education, sanitary engineers, statisticians, and many more who are skilled in the prevention of disease and in the solution of social problems created by sickness. Medicine and medical care in the United States engage the labor of over a million people. Our hospitals alone represent a capital investment of over three billion dollars. The physician is still the center of this immense personnel and machinery, but medicine is now vastly more than the service of the physician.

II

The enormous growth in medical knowledge and the vast increase in the complexity of medical art have brought complications which no one foresaw and which no one fully comprehends. The arrangements under which our medical personnel and facilities serve the public have been moving through rapid changes. Widespread public discontent testifies that these arrangements are still far short of perfection. There is room for improvement in the relations of medicine to society and in its adjustment to the changing needs of the times.

I would have you note that when I speak of public discon-

tent, I refer to the arrangements under which medicine serves the public; I do not refer to the scientific or practical workings of medicine itself. To be sure, there is room for improvement in the skill of many practitioners, in the administration of hospitals, clinics, and laboratories. But, generally speaking, the world is familiar with the great advances which have been made in the medical sciences and takes pride in the unselfish and faithful devotion with which scientific progress has been given practical application. The science and the art of medicine are certainly traveling forward and on a highroad, and the discriminating public has the highest confidence in the future of medical practice.

III

Public confidence in the technical affairs of medical practice is one thing; the public attitude toward the arrangements under which medical service is furnished is another. Everywhere in the country, and among people in all walks of life, there has developed a consciousness that our present system of private practice of medicine has ceased to serve efficiently or well in conjunction with the individual purchase of medical service.

There is a ferment at work and people are searching out the troubles and their causes. At the bottom of the well they find that the practice of medicine, with its centuries of tradition of public service, has fallen into a business world. Since before the Dark Ages, the economic relation of the physician to society was summed up in the phrases: *to* each according to his need; *from* each according to his means. And this was a sound and simple rule, easily followed and with justice to all, in the calm and stable local communities of an agricultural world. Unfortunately, this system of relations has come to grief upon the rocks and shoals of a business world. The individual physician often has only brief and fleeting contacts with those he must serve. The admission officer of the hospital, the clinic, or the laboratory does not know the individual patient; the economic or social position of the patient is generally unknown to the practitioner, often is scarcely determinable by the patient, and

commonly is variable as well as insecure. And, too, preventive medicine has come into the field and has begun to break down the age-old tradition that the patient must seek out the physician.

I cannot say enough in praise of the resistance which the practice of medicine has offered against commercialization. But something more than resistance has become necessary. Action—forward-looking action—is needed from all who hold with President Roosevelt that medical science and medical art are of paramount importance to society.

To guard the health of the people and to protect itself against the burdens which illness may create, society has discovered its stake in health and medical care. Society has rapidly expanded its facilities to bring public health services and preventive medicine to the people; society waits less and less upon the initiative of the individual.

IV

Public health started as an arm of the police power of the state. The purpose was at first to protect one person against the communicable disease of another. Later, its scope was broadened to prevent disease wherever it might occur. Nor was it restricted to the control of communicable disease. Public health had, of necessity, to look to the public water supply, the systems of refuse and sewage disposal, the keeping of vital statistics, the inspection of children in school, the immunization of individuals against disease, and the provision of laboratory services. Public health has required the building of hospitals, the provision of public health nurses, the creation of public authorities to educate the public in the practice of healthy living, the establishment of health centers and welfare stations where services are brought within the reach of the people, where the mother may be taught care of herself and of her infant child. Public health has come increasingly to recognize the importance of social relations: the effects of disease and disability upon the life of the family, upon economic well-being, and upon social

dependency. The public health is the public concern and society must guard itself.

All public health work is, in an obvious sense, public medicine. In the modern world the health of the public is a social concern, even as is the education of the public. In this sense, the socialization of health has long been an accepted doctrine of society. It has had public acceptance which is as general as the public acceptance of socialized education, socialized roads and streets, or socialized police or fire protection. Without public medicine or state medicine of at least a particular scope, no modern society can exist.

V

What are the forces which are urging us along the path of state medicine so objectionable to the medical profession and which clearly is not the proposal of the Milbank Fund? First, there is the constant pressure to conserve public health better than we do now and to protect society against the burdens of mental and physical breakdown; second, under the battering of scientific discoveries, the steady disappearance of the line which divides prevention from cure; third, the increasing need for more elaborate and more expensive personnel and facilities such as are beyond the means of the individual practitioner of medicine; and, fourth, the increasing need for an adequate system of paying medical costs.

There is common thread in all four. The increasing complexity of public needs and of the nature of good medical service both operate to increase the costs. More and more the advance of medical science and the perfection and complication of medical practice carry medicine beyond the financial reach of millions of people. Only the common action of the members of society and only the common pooling of funds will suffice to bring good health and medical care within the means of the people. In this field, as in many others, we can do as groups what we cannot do as individuals.

The growth of public health service, the provision of care in

illnesses which have a public interest, and the provision of costly facilities are forces which modern society cannot deny. We must anticipate more—not less—state medicine for services which deal primarily with groups of people rather than with individuals. What of the necessity to solve the problems of costs for medical services which are purchased privately for the care of the individual? Must this be solved by making the present-day private practice of medicine a public function? This question will require closer analysis.

In the United States the diagnosis and cure of individual illness is essentially the field of the private practice of medicine. Nearly 125,000 physicians, 57,000 dentists, 270,000 nurses, 50,000 midwives, and over 60,000 other practitioners are engaged in private practice. One and a half billion dollars are invested in non-governmental hospitals, and these institutions contain one-third of our million hospital beds. Each year we spend for all kinds of medical care about three billion dollars from our private purses. In a rough and inadequate way these figures on personnel, facilities, and costs measure the extent of private practice.

In Europe conditions are somewhat different. The forms of public medicine which are common here are also common there. In addition, tax-supported hospitals provide most of the hospital service for the population. In nearly every country of the world except the United States there is in addition a system of insurance against the costs of those medical services which are not furnished by government. The systems which have developed all have points in common; but they also have important differences. In a dozen countries the systems are voluntary; in more than twenty the systems are compulsory; and in three more there are combined voluntary and compulsory systems. In the voluntary systems there are, however, indirect and economic—if not legal—compulsions. In some countries insurance against medical costs is open only to wage-earners who have very small earnings; in others wage-earners and their dependents are covered. In some countries insurance against medical costs

applies only to the services of the doctor; in others almost every conceivable kind of service is provided from the pooled contributions of the insured persons. In some countries the government merely supervises the system; in others it pays part of the costs and even operates a few of the facilities. In almost every country, whether the government does or does not contribute money, contributions are shared between the insured persons and their employers.

In any proper sense, however, the European systems of insurance are not state medicine. Society, through government authority, does not in general furnish medical service; it sets up a machinery whereby people can pool the costs of private service. Private practitioners and private institutions are remunerated from the pooled contributions. Furthermore, all of these European systems are poor-man systems; they serve only the poor and are geared to the financial resources of the poor. The pool of insurance funds in these countries is created by the meager contributions of the poor. It is, therefore, not surprising that remuneration of practitioners—judged by American standards—is small and often inadequate. Government contributions are too small to change this condition.

VI

From our present structure of public medicine we may expect further growth and expansion. Whenever society can furnish needed care that is not furnished privately, and whenever society can furnish service more efficiently or more inexpensively, there too we may anticipate the growth of public medicine. In respect to the services for the diagnosis and cure of illness—the kinds of service which we ordinarily receive from private practitioners and private facilities and which we ordinarily purchase as individuals—we have two main choices. Either we shall develop methods of pooling the costs and continue to receive the services from private practitioners, or we shall both pool the costs and furnish the services under the aegis of government. It is my opinion that in the near future we shall have to

choose between (a) insurance coupled to the private practice of medicine and (b) public medicine. The reasons for this judgment will appear if we examine the nature of medical costs and some of the problems of medical economics.

VII

Why are we concerned over questions of medical economics?

Is it because we have inadequate facilities to furnish medical care? Certainly not; we have nearly enough physicians, dentists, and hospitals and sufficient specialists, nurses, and pharmacists to provide all the service which medical judgment says the people need.

Is it because the people are not sufficiently health conscious and are unaware that they need medical care? Certainly not; there is no nation in the world in which the desire for health and the appreciation of medical service are greater than in our own.

Is it because we cannot afford good medical care? Certainly not; in any normal year we spend nearly \$3,700,000,000, or \$30 per person, for health and medical services, and this is nearly enough to buy adequate medical care for everyone.

Then why is it that in an average year 52 per cent of the people receive no services from a physician, 79 per cent get no attention from a dentist, 89 per cent receive no health examination or similar preventive service, less than 4 per cent of all adult persons receive an examination of any sort, and 38 per cent of the people receive absolutely no medical, dental, or eye care of any kind? Why is it that neither the rich nor the poor, and certainly not the great middle class, receive anything even approaching adequate medical care? Why is it that the proportion of serious illnesses which go unattended is more than three times as great among the poor as among the well-to-do?

The conditions summarized are based on the unchallenged findings of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care and refer to the heyday of the years 1928-31.

The lack of medical attention in normal times is mild by comparison with that which obtains during a depression. A survey

conducted jointly by the United States Public Health Service and the Milbank Memorial Fund in the early spring of 1933 showed that decline in income has been associated with an excessively high illness rate and an increase in the inadequacy of medical attendance. However, decline in income brought to the surveyed families not a reduction but an increase in hospital care over that to which people in the same economic class are accustomed. Fifty to 90 per cent of the hospitalized cases among the poor received hospital service without cost to the patient. From this study we learn that large classes of the population have to suffer the catastrophe of unemployment and reduction of income in order that they shall receive hospital care! This comes as no surprise to hospital authorities who have been driven almost to despair by the burden of free care; but it may be news to many who still serenely believed that "all's right with the world."

The principal reason why people do not receive anything like the amount of medical care they need and which our practitioners and facilities are prepared to furnish is clearly an economic one. An economic barrier stands between patient and practitioner. It rests on the tradition that the delivery of medical service must wait on the initiative of the patient. Unfortunately, the patient acts according to the balance between the urgency for medical care and the desire to avoid expenditure.

There are problems of public ignorance, of uneven geographical distribution of practitioners and hospitals, of excessive specialization in the professions, of wasteful expenditures on patent medicines and nostrums and on quacks and charlatans. But the basic problem is this: For the family of moderate or less than moderate means, the costs of medical care are incurred in a haphazard and uncertain way. They cannot budget these costs in the same way in which they budget the costs of food, clothing, or rent. The underlying cause is the fee-for-service purchase of medical service.

The burden of costs on the public has its counterpart in insecurity and uncertainty of income for the professions. In 1929

one-third of all physicians had net incomes of less than \$2,500 and one-half less than \$3,800. If we graded private general physicians in income intervals of \$1,000, more physicians would be found in the \$1,000-\$2,000 class than in any other. And this was in 1929! For every physician who received more than \$10,000 in gross income there were two who received less than \$2,500; for every dentist who earned more than \$10,000 there were four who earned less than \$2,500. In 1930 physicians' incomes declined 10 per cent below their 1929 levels. It is almost needless to add that they declined still further between 1930 and 1934.

The public interest requires that all who are in need of care shall receive it; and the people need the services of all who are competent and prepared to furnish care. Sir Arthur Newsholme (*Medicine and the State*) says:

Civilized communities have arrived at two conclusions, from which there will be no retreat, though their full realization in experience has nowhere been completely achieved.

In the first place, the health of every individual is a social concern and responsibility; and secondly, as following from this, medical care in its widest sense for every individual is an essential condition of maximum efficiency and happiness in a civilized community.

VIII

Most of the problems disappear when we speak in terms of averages. In a normal year we spend in the United States, for all kinds of health and medical care, \$23 or \$24 per person from our private purses. If each family had to budget only the average costs for its income class, several important consequences would follow: (1) they could afford the costs; (2) the costs would bring very few burdens; (3) they could afford to spend more for medical care than they ordinarily spend, just as they can for other commodities or services which they purchase on a budgeted or instalment basis; (4) the complaints against the "high costs of medical care" would vanish into thin air; (5) practitioners and institutions could earn larger, more stable, and more assured incomes; (6) the volume of medical care would

increase; unattended illness would almost disappear. Averaging the costs means distributing the costs over groups of people and over periods of time. This is equivalent to applying the insurance principle. Averaging the costs substitutes a uniform and predictable average risk for a variable and uncertain individual risk. People of small or moderate means cannot individually budget medical costs. But they can budget medical costs if they do it in large groups, just as they do for life insurance or fire insurance or other kinds of insurance.

The greatest and most urgent need to bring health and medical service to the people and to assure reasonable incomes to practitioners and hospitals is a system of insurance or group budgeting against medical costs.

IX

There is nothing new in an insurance proposal. In the United States, more than in any other country of the world, we believe in and practice insurance. We insure our houses and automobiles against fire, burglary, or injury; we insure life and limb; we insure against industrial accidents and occupational disease; we insure against old age and dependency; we are even learning to insure against unemployment. Nor is there anything new in insurance against illness and the need for medical care. Group budgeting for medical service is practiced in the United States in hundreds or thousands of communities where voluntary organizations have developed in response to local needs. Insurance against medical costs is not a new-fangled invention; it goes back in this country to the pioneering days of the mines, railroads, and lumber camps.

Lately, under the courageous leadership of the American Hospital Association, we have been learning how to practice the group budgeting of hospital costs. Group hospitalization plans are in actual operation in twenty-one states and more than thirty cities, and involve over one hundred hospitals. Between fifty and a hundred more local plans are in process of development.

Group budgeting for the service of the physician has also made a beginning in this country, often on an inadequate financial basis, in hundreds of fraternal orders and industrial groups. In California, Oregon, and Washington important insurance medical-service plans have gone forward under the auspices of the state and county medical societies. The principle of insurance for medical costs has also been approved—in one form or other—by a number of state and local medical societies, and other representatives of organized medicine. Last month a new type of plan was approved in principle by the House of Delegates of the Michigan State Medical Society by a vote of 61 to 9, and officers of the Society were authorized to proceed with its experimental use.

Some forty countries of the world have health- or sickness-insurance systems, twenty-two being entirely on a compulsory basis and the others involving legal or economic compulsion in greater or lesser degree. In England, in addition to the fact that sixteen million persons are included in the compulsory system of insurance which covers only the services of the general practitioner of medicine, some six million persons voluntarily insure for hospital care. The lessons from this experience are ready to our hand.

X

How shall we meet our American problems? How shall we formulate a sound program of insurance against medical costs? Two of my associates, Dr. I. S. Falk and Mr. Edgar Sydenstricker, are making a careful study of these questions. Their report is not yet complete; at this time I can offer only their tentative conclusions and my own, and I present these not as definitive proposals but only as a basis for constructive discussion.

1. *Which fractions of the population should be covered by the plan?*—In Europe and in America it has been customary to restrict health or sickness insurance to those who earn small wages, generally less than \$1,200. All European and practically all voluntary American systems are poor-man systems, and are

geared to the financial resources of the poor. Only by carrying an excessively large panel of patients can the physician earn a decent income in a poor-man system. Physicians and other practitioners in America who indorse insurance against medical costs only for the lower-income brackets fail to realize that they spite both themselves and the public.

Our primary problem is not how to furnish financial assistance to the poor, but to enable those who cannot buy medical care as individuals to buy it as groups. The costs of medical care cannot be budgeted individually by families whose incomes are less than \$3,000 or possibly \$5,000. Sickness insurance, therefore, should apply to all families with annual incomes of less than \$3,000 or \$5,000, and preferably should permit insurance of all persons and all families in the population. We want no poor-man system in America.

It is clearly desirable to co-ordinate an insurance program with other official and voluntary health and medical activities. The necessity for some support from tax funds leads us to the conclusion that an insurance system should be organized on a state-wide basis.

2. *Should the plan be voluntary or compulsory?*—European experience shows clearly that every voluntary scheme is merely a shorter or longer bridge to a compulsory scheme. Experience is accumulated through voluntary insurance, and this is very useful in the establishment of a compulsory system. Unfortunately, however, many of the worst abuses which develop under voluntary schemes are carried over into the compulsory stage and remain to confuse the new administration and to interfere with efficient operation.

The people in the lower-income brackets, who most urgently need an insurance plan, show the greatest inertia in coming into a voluntary plan. The poor, the mass of workers, can be only partly, if at all, covered by voluntary insurance, and our society has no protection against the burdens which they carry and create. If insurance is to cover the people whom it should, it must be grounded on a compulsory basis.

3. *What medical services should be furnished?*—It appears to us that medical benefits in an insurance program should be divided into two classes. The first should include the general practitioner, hospital care (where sufficient hospital beds are available in the community), and perhaps prescribed medicines. These services should be mandatory upon the system and available to all insured persons. The second class might include other medical services, such as those of the medical specialist, dentistry, home-nursing, laboratory and clinic service, home remedies, and medical commodities. These might be made permissive for each community which desires them, has the means to pay for them and the facilities to furnish them, and proposes a plan which receives the approval of the proper insurance authority. It is conceivable that even the second class might be made mandatory as rapidly as the personnel and facilities can be made available.

These studies of medical costs indicate that cash benefits to replace wages lost on account of illness should not be provided as part of this system. It appears that cash benefits should be furnished through some other system of social insurance.

4. *How shall practitioners and institutions be remunerated?*—Our studies show that it is possible for a system of compulsory insurance of the kind we outline to keep the costs of medical service within the means of the public and yet pay the practitioner a fair return for his service—a more adequate remuneration than most physicians now receive. Just how he is paid can be determined by the organized group of practitioners in each local area; they can be permitted to choose a system based upon salaries or annual fees per person, or fees per unit of service. A very tentative estimate may be ventured. Whatever the actual procedure by which the physician is remunerated, the general practitioner can be paid a sum equivalent to at least \$7.00–\$7.50 per insured person. Under such an estimate, the general practitioner who serves one thousand potential patients, whenever they need his care, would be assured a gross income of something like \$7,500 in fees out of the insurance fund. This would be his gross income. His expenses would still leave him a

better net income from his insurance practice alone than he ordinarily earns, apart from what he may earn from his non-insurance practice.

Experience shows that the costs of hospital care can be adequately met from an insurance fund for a reasonable cost. In principle, all that is needed is an arrangement whereby a non-profit insurance fund agrees to remunerate each approved hospital at a fixed sum for each patient-day of service rendered to insured persons. The insurance risk is carried by the insurance fund, not by the hospital. Such arrangements can be proposed whether the hospitals are owned by governments, by non-profit corporations, or by private individuals.

Similarly, it is possible by facing each question on its merits to work out a plan whereby each additional type of medical practitioner or institution may be adequately remunerated at a cost within the means of the system, and through such arrangements as are mutually satisfactory to the public and to the medical agencies.

5. *What would be the total costs of the medical benefits?*—For health and medical services furnished through an insurance system, in adequate volume and of high quality, the cost would be about \$36 per person. This includes not only the services of the general practitioner, the medical specialist, the dentist, the graduate and the practical nurse, the general and special hospital, drugs and medicines, laboratory, etc., but also the cost of adequate tuberculous and mental-disease hospitalization, all desirable forms of public health work, the costs of administration and of a contingent reserve.

The medical services of the kinds which are ordinarily purchased privately would cost about \$27 per person. The customary expenditure is \$23–\$24 for similar services, but our conception of medical service calls for much larger volumes of medical care than either the rich or the poor ordinarily receive. In our proposed budget, certain types of excessive and wasteful expenditures have been reduced and the savings have been applied to more useful services.

The basic problem is not to find more money than is now

spent, but to find new and better ways of directing customary expenditures into more productive channels. Any community which might adopt less than the complete program would, of course, have proportionately smaller costs.

6. *How shall the funds be raised?*—In the United States in general it has long been customary for approximately 14 per cent of the costs of health and medical care to be financed through tax funds. In our proposals, services of the kinds ordinarily financed from tax funds account for 20 per cent of the budget. We may therefore assume that at least this much might continue to come from tax funds under an insurance program. How should we distribute the remaining 80 per cent? Some might argue that all of it should come through taxation which places the burdens upon various groups in the population. Others will contend that the 80 per cent should be raised through direct contributions of the insured persons. Some will argue for contributions shared between employed persons and their employers. In every case tradition and practical considerations agree that the costs must be distributed according to ability to pay.

7. *How shall a health insurance program be administered?*—In any administrative arrangement that may be devised in a state, it seems to us essential that provision should be made for public supervision of financial and executive problems and for professional supervision of professional personnel and professional problems. Our studies of European and other health-insurance systems lead us to believe that three types of agencies, closely co-ordinated, should be provided: executive agencies to set up and administer the plan; a professional agency to care for the problems of education and investigation and to administer professional service; and a judicial agency, combining lay and professional members, to deal with complaints and grievances.

Such an administrative plan would recognize that certain basic services should be made mandatory for all insured persons in the state and that the scope of additional medical services should be determined by local needs, local ability to pay the

costs, local availability of facilities, and local initiative in formulating a program. Perhaps such a program lays too much responsibility upon local—as distinguished from state—authority. The point requires further study.

European plans for health insurance, excepting Russia, have never dealt adequately with preventive care. It seems essential that an American plan should place adequate emphasis upon the prevention of disease. We therefore propose that periodic physical examinations of all insured persons by their physicians, immunizations, prenatal and postnatal care, and all other sound and necessary public health services should be required. And we would include arrangements for special payments or bonuses for the services which are furnished by private practitioners. In respect to health care for large groups or for entire communities, an American plan should provide co-ordination between the insurance system and all other agencies devoted to the prevention of disease.

XI

The essence of our proposal is that the economic barrier between the individual who needs care and the practitioner who is prepared to furnish it is removed. Competition for patients between practitioners, between institutions, and between practitioners and institutions is retained; but competition would now depend upon the quality and attractiveness of service, not upon the size of a fee. On the broad and unassailable ground that health is the basis of a people's well-being, all who are insured would have opportunity to receive care according to their need, not according to their means. The burden of uncertain and unbudgetable costs would be removed from the individual and would be replaced by the average cost for a group. The uncertainty and inadequacy of professional or institutional income would be replaced by assured, stable, and reasonably adequate return for service. "Free care" would cease to exist for the practitioner or the hospital; excessive specialization would be brought under control; and the quality of medical practice

could be raised more uniformly than it is now to a level which is worthy of modern medical science.

The administration of such a system as we contemplate should be guided by five practical lessons which emerge from the study of European and American experiences: (1) freedom of all competent practitioners who subscribe to necessary rules of procedure to engage in insurance practice; (2) freedom of all persons to choose their physician or dentist from among all practitioners in the community who engage in insurance practice; (3) freedom of insurance practitioners to accept or reject patients; (4) no interference of the insurance system with the private purchase of medical service by those persons who prefer and can afford it; (5) professional control of professional personnel and procedures.

XII

Now I would return to pick up the thread of the original analysis. You will recall my statement: Either we shall develop methods of pooling the costs and continue to receive the services from private practitioners, or we may be forced both to pool the costs and to furnish the services under the aegis of government. You will recognize at once that the studies which are being conducted by my associates are leading them to propose that we should deliberately adopt the first of these two alternatives. Their tentative findings lead them to propose that we should hold fast to the private practice and the private provision of medical service; but to make this possible a method must be developed to mutualize costs for that large proportion of the population which is neither rich nor very poor.

The proposals which I have outlined do not call for state medicine or public medicine or the socialization of medicine or anything else that a clever person might call it to confuse the issues. This is a proposal for a system whereby people are enabled to purchase good medical care and to budget and pay the costs. At this time I hold a brief only for the conviction that the underlying economic problem must be solved so that people

can receive the medical care they need and practitioners a fair return for their services.

Some weeks ago these proposals were submitted for discussion and criticism to a professional audience in California. At that time it seemed to be eminently clear to those before whom I spoke that we were not proposing state medicine or any other form of the socialization of medical practice. In a few medical periodicals and in a daily paper, however, it was said that we *were* advocating state medicine. Hence, I trust you will bear with me if I reiterate the principles upon which our tentative proposals rest:

1. The health of the people is a concern of society.
2. Certain forms of health and medical service are now furnished by federal, state, and local governments and the costs are paid from public funds. The nature of modern society makes these public services necessary and unavoidable. Such essential public services must continue and we must expect some expansion in their scope.
3. The bulk of medical service in the diagnosis and treatment of illness is now a field of private practice and should remain such, assuming that manifest imperfections can be eliminated and that the economic problems can be solved through an appropriate application of the insurance principle.
4. The rich and the well-to-do can meet the costs of medical care through individual purchasing and their own unaided budgeting. There is no reason why our customs need to be changed for them, and we do not advocate any change for this group.
5. The indigent and the very poor are the dependents of society. Health service and medical care must be supplied these groups as a necessity of life in modern society. The costs should continue to be met from public funds and other resources of organized society, and more adequately than is now the case. Services for the indigent and the very poor should not be a burden upon private practitioners and institutions.

6. For the great bulk of the population between the upper and the lower economic extremes, the purchase of necessary and sufficient medical services from private practitioners and institutions is not possible on the basis of individual payment.

7. Our studies show that these middle economic classes can afford the costs of good and sufficient health and medical service if they can be enabled to pay for the service as groups rather than as individuals.

8. Hence we propose an application of the insurance principle whereby the people in these middle brackets may as groups budget the average costs of health and medical service, pay these average sums into a common pool, and remunerate private practitioners and institutions from this pool.

9. There is nothing in our principles or in our proposals which challenges the fundamentals of our American political or economic system. There is nothing in all this about "regimenting" either patients or practitioners. We are all familiar with insurance and nearly all of us approve and practice insurance. Whether we are Democrats or Republicans or Socialists or Communists, we can all believe in insurance against the costs of medical care.

I know, of course, that many will not agree with the proposals which I have outlined. I must say again, for my associates—Dr. Falk and Mr. Sydenstricker—and for myself, that we present our suggestions in the spirit of scientific and dispassionate study. We stand prepared to discard our ideas for any better ones that may be offered. The phrase "health insurance" suggests to many timid souls a "big bad wolf." I think the time has come for the medical profession, for hospital administrators, for social workers, for nurses, and for the allied professions to join in Walt Disney's chorus.

The problem of bringing health service and medical care within the reach of the American people is not local to any particular areas; the need is acute everywhere. Fortunately, there is no real conflict of interest among the three parties concerned with

the economics of medical care—the public, the practitioners, and the institutions. Leadership must come from each of the three groups. It must always be remembered, however, that the public “foots the bill,” and, in any final sense, the public will decide. I can only add my hope to that of others, that calm and judicious action will determine the future course of events, and that whatever solutions are found for the problems of medical costs, they will be as fair to those who furnish medical care as to those who receive it.

XIII

Finally, I would return to my original starting-point. The studies conducted over a period of five years by the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care showed that even in the best of times neither the rich nor the poor receive anything approaching adequate medical care. These studies also furnished ample evidence that the principal reason for this state of affairs is the variable and uncertain size of medical costs for the individual or the family.

Our studies point to the self-evident conclusion that we must replace individual purchase by group purchase; we must replace variable and uncertain individual costs by fixed and certain group costs. We must make practical use of the large experience which has accumulated with health insurance on a voluntary basis in this country and on a voluntary or compulsory basis in nearly every other large country of the world. Through this means three major results of great consequence to society may be accomplished: adequate health and medical service could become available to all the people; practitioners and institutions could be given adequate financial remuneration and support; and society could avoid the pressure of forces which may otherwise drive us on to new and untried experiments with public medical service or state medicine.

If you wish to think that there is any “socialization” in these proposals, obviously it is not socialization of medical practice

but socialization of the payment of medical costs. I prefer to call it "mutualization" of medical costs.

My associates in the Milbank Memorial Fund and I do not advocate the socialization of medical practice. We advocate the private practice of medicine and the mutualization of the patient's costs. On such a program it will become possible for people to receive the services which they need from private practitioners and, without excessive burdens, remunerate these practitioners adequately.

DIVISION MEETINGS



COMMUNITY RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD THE YOUTH OF TODAY

Jacob Kepecs, Jewish Home Finding Society, Chicago

MY DISCUSSION of the subject must be confined to the merest outline of a few of the salient features of the question, such as (a) the distinctive characteristics of the youth problem, (b) facts pertaining to size of problem and volume of service available, and (c) the place of case-work service in the picture. Some of the questions raised will allow more than one answer, and my answer will allow for many a doubt. You will indulge me, I trust, if I permit myself a speculative thought here and there, and the interjection of a bit of faith.

Among the more distinctive characteristics of youth are impulsiveness, emotional tenseness, and general instability. Youth accentuates and magnifies the problems common to mankind. It is prominent in crime, dramatic in the violation of social codes and traditions, ardent and indiscreet in love, fanatical in religion and politics, and erratic in occupational judgment. But, by and large, youth follows in the footsteps of its elders. If youth in the middle and upper classes is in conflict with its elders, it is because of the unimaginative conservatism, perhaps fear, of the latter. If youth in the lower-income class is dispirited and dull, it can be traced to crushing environment. Youth in every class lives in hope of success and economic reward. Youth is expected to be an economic asset but outside of that is left to its own devices. If youth wishes attention, it strides dramatically and menacingly across the stage of life—and much to our annoyance. It reacts with jazz to war and plenty, with law violation and antisocial conduct to humdrum normal times, and takes to the highways and byways as a transient in the time of economic crisis. The most menacing

problem of youth, in my opinion, is its apathy and the indifference of its elders.

The problem of the individual, unemployed youth arises much from the same causes. He feels his neglect and experiences a sense of personal inadequacy and defeat—a reflection of the success philosophy. He senses the injustice of inequality of opportunity, and he resents being regarded as an economic asset and liability only.

Because of its virility, unspent energy, and innate force, youth has powers out of proportion to its numbers—powers for evil and for good, for creation and for destruction. Hence the high rate of delinquency and law violation among youth; hence the high emotional tension, in social and political activity, where such activity exists; hence the heedless (or sublime?) urge of youth, to make the world over.

The size of the problem in terms of incomplete and fragmentary facts and figures is this: According to the 1930 census, the youth population of today in the United States is approximately eleven and a half millions. This is in accordance with our age definition of youth, namely, sixteen to twenty-one. Youth forms a little over 9 per cent of the population of this country. The youth group furnishes approximately five and a quarter millions of gainfully employed workers, or about 50 per cent of its population. These figures are presumably for normal times. During the depression, that proportion of the youth population coming under the gainfully employed classification shows a higher rate of unemployment than the older-age groups. Thus in 1930 the age group between fifteen and twenty-four showed a rate of unemployment of 8.8 for males and 6.6 for females, which was higher than for all other age groups. The lowest rate for the age group was between thirty and forty. Placing the present number of unemployed at twelve millions, the number of unemployed people between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one is approximately one and a half millions, or one in eight persons out of work.

What is happening to the unemployed young people? Ac-

According to figures of the Federal Relief Administration of October, 1933, over 1,100,000 boys and girls between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one were living with their families on unemployment relief, the United States government furnishing the primary necessities. These figures naturally vary according to change in the number of families on unemployment relief. It must not be assumed furthermore that all young people in relief families are without jobs, and that all of the others are working. In addition to the ones supported in their own homes, the United States government provides for about 300,000 young people between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five in the Civilian Conservation Corps, and assuming that the number for each year is approximately the same, we may account for about 125,000 youths between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one in that way. Thousands of others are cared for by Uncle Sam through his transient service, and other thousands are provided for as resident homeless in their own communities. The transient service in Cook County reports a recent census of 452 individuals between sixteen and twenty-one, and a total of 543 such individuals since November, 1933. The United States also cares for thousands of youths in its armed forces. These figures are exclusive of the young people cared for by the regularly constituted family welfare agencies, child-caring institutions and organizations, clubs for young men and young women, and by state institutions for correctional and custodial care. It is worthy of note that the family is still the old reliable in furnishing shelter and such security as there exists for the individual to all but a small fraction of the eleven and a half million youths. Of the unemployed and otherwise disadvantaged youths, probably about 80-85 per cent live in their own families.

The schools, particularly the secondary, technical, junior and senior colleges, absorb part or most of the time and thinking of a considerable number of youths. The 1930 census indicates that one-quarter of the total population, or nearly thirty million individuals, were enrolled in the schools of the country in

that year. The trend toward prolonged school attendance has been continuously upward and has made great strides since 1900. Four million more children were in secondary schools in 1930 than in the year 1900, and three quarters of a million more in colleges. The trend has not been checked by the depression. It is not difficult to find the reasons for this upward trend. Over a period of decades, wealth has been accumulating at an increasing pace, and fewer people are required to produce for consumption; the ratio of adults to children in the population has been on the increase, particularly since 1910, thus furnishing a larger proportion of industrial workers and releasing the younger-age group for non-productive activity, and the humanitarian efforts against child labor and for a higher school-leaving age have had their effect. If anything, the present depression has made the reason for keeping young people out of industry only plainer.

Youth must have activity. Some of those whom the schools cannot hold or who are not interested, and some for whom no provisions are made by the established recreational and social agencies, engage in destructive activity, antisocial and unlawful in nature. The study of this aspect in the Wickersham report, based on the Massachusetts experience, indicates a consistent relationship between vagrancy and property crimes, on the one hand, and the employment index, on the other. But Dr. Winslow, who presents the study, cautions against general conclusions as to the relative importance of economic influence upon crime and the relative volume of crime during periods of prosperity and depression. Nevertheless, in that section of the Wickersham report to which this refers, there is no hesitancy in concluding that "stability of work is of great importance as a factor in law observance." The figures of the Boys' Court of Chicago for the years between 1926 and 1932 show a steady but slow increase in the number of boys brought into that Court. In 1932 and 1933 the figures show a steep rise of more than 70 per cent, or from about four thousand to seven thousand arraignments. An isolated instance of this kind, however, does

not indicate a general trend or establish a relationship between economic conditions and crime, without careful analysis.

There is general agreement among case-workers in Chicago that increasing numbers of young people are engaging in anti-social or socially undesirable activities. We have seen a surprising growth of the "basement club" movement. These clubs, located in basements, with or without a nominal rental, are composed of young people who have no money to spend on commercial amusements and to whom the established recreational and cultural agencies have no appeal. These clubs, which often insert the word "athletics" in the name, create new fads in dress and arrange for mixed parties of boys and girls. They are reputed to be "wild" parties. Probably they are not any wilder than those held in the "ritzie" clubs. I only regret the difference in the setting. The bleak-basement club, with its pathetic activities, today is replacing the glittering dance hall and the jazz life of youth of but yesterday.

WHAT IS THE PLACE OF SOCIAL CASE WORK IN THE PICTURE?

The full effect of the depression on youth is as yet not discernible, but we have good reason to watch with apprehension their reaction. Case work has natural limitations in dealing with the problems of youth collectively, or for that matter with the problem of any collective age group. An increasing number have come under the influence of case work during the depression years. The growth of case-work facilities during the present century has been phenomenal, yet it is generally agreed that case work has made little impression on youth, particularly in its treatment aspects. If it has failed, which I am not ready to grant, I ascribe it to two main factors. In spite of the rapid development of case-work facilities, we have as yet had but halfway measures; we never had adequate probational personnel, for instance, or adequate psychiatric service, or adequate case-work service of any kind. Case-work agencies and case-workers have always worked under high pressure and un-

der great loads. Such conditions are hardly conducive to success. Second, the case-work field overestimates its possibilities and opportunities. It does not realize its limitations in regard to influences over which it has no control. No amount of case work, quantitative or qualitative, can overcome dismal poverty, wretched housing, or the example of adult behavior set for youth by leaders in the community, often responsible leaders in business and in politics. Case work faces an insurmountable task if it attempts to overcome the high barriers of adverse environmental influences through any technique it has thus far devised, including that of dynamic passivity.

A realistic case-work program can render a great service to youth and to other individuals who are at a disadvantage economically or are personally out of step. Case work can and does help the individual by getting him the things which he cannot get for himself: food and shelter, medical care, education, recreational opportunity, vocational guidance, and friendship. (This is not intended as an inclusive list.) Case work can and does offer guidance in the adaptation of one's life to changed conditions. It has proved itself particularly effective in the organization and administration of relief under great pressure and under varying circumstances. But case work can be of the greatest value only if it realizes its limitations in respect to environment, over which it has no control.

Social case work can and should do more than merely attempt to adjust an unadjusted individual to an unadjustable environment. It can and should assist in the development of new attitudes toward youth. Case-work and case-work agencies can and need to demonstrate, if only in a small way, how youth needs to be treated.

By way of suggestion I am submitting for your consideration:

1. A very liberal policy regarding intake and discharge. The age of sixteen, seventeen, or eighteen should not remain a barrier to the admission of a needy boy or girl to a child-caring agency or institution. Neither should these ages be a signal for discharge from economic and moral responsibilities. We have

in the past shown discrimination in favor of the bright, the ambitious, and the "worthy," because of the glory which they reflect or are likely to reflect upon the institution or organization. Any discrimination should be in favor of the individual in the greatest and most urgent need.

2. A most generous policy in the treatment of youth on the part of all case-working agencies. As a general rule, we have been grudging and stingy, and tried to get away with the least expense possible. Thus, for instance, while we are fairly generous in regard to the payment of board, provision of clothing, education, and amusements for younger children, we are miserly when it comes to the older group. We send off our older girls to wage homes, and our older boys to work homes. We pay less attention to their needs with respect to clothing and other items, although these needs appear to be of greater importance to the personal adjustment of young people than is the case in the younger-age group.

3. Abandonment of the makeshift policy forced upon us by the depression. We still cling to the old attitude regarding the financial responsibility of youth toward itself and family, and we assume to know "what is best." We must abandon the concept that youth is only an economic asset and liability. We need to remove our youth from competitive industry, for case-work reasons as well as to relieve unemployment. Occupation for youth is a great necessity, but we must differentiate between occupation in gainful employment and in other socially useful undertakings. The C.C.C. is but part of an answer. The wage item in the occupation of a youth is of secondary importance, if his necessities can be provided for satisfactorily in some other way. Youth should not return to industry until it is needed and until all employable adults have found employment at decent wages. Industry does not need youth excepting to exploit it. It is not concerned with its education, ideals, or difficulties to adjust to life. The child-labor age at sixteen is fine, and President Roosevelt deserves much credit for fixing the child-labor age at sixteen by executive order. The humanitarians have good reason to be elated. But the victory is not so very sig-

nificant. Before the President's prohibition of child labor under sixteen, there were about six hundred thousand such children regularly and gainfully employed; whereas there are more than five million of the age group under consideration on the labor market, and of these, about four million—perhaps fewer—are actually employed. To take them out of industry will go a long way toward relieving unemployment. Fifty per cent of youths have already been removed from industry by the voluntary choice of their families who can afford it, or who believe in higher education and are willing to make sacrifices for it. It would not hurt society to do the same thing for the other half.

4. The youth period should be regarded as an opportunity for education for life and the preparation for occupation without pressure, economic and psychologic. The period of youth should be a period of social usefulness rather than of competition for personal gain. It will require the broadest kind of educational program, in which educators, psychologists, social workers, and leaders in the religious field and other fields should be glad to participate.

5. I urge the abandonment of the success theory and of the excessive value based on individual achievement. But we must not replace the teaching of success by the teaching of acceptance of a miserable lot or of resignation to it. That is unnecessary in an economy of plenty; it would be fatal in the long run. Youth should be acquainted with the facts and encouraged to face them openly. Youth must be permitted to make its own choice in regard to a life-philosophy and social attitude.

Evidence is accumulating that youth is despondent, listless, and apathetic. If that is so, it is an unhealthy state for youth and for society. We must do something about it. Youth is bound to shake off its apathy, which may be but glowing coal under gray ashes waiting for someone to fan it into flame. Someone will come along to fan it, and it is impossible to foretell whether it will be a leader or a demagogue. Upon that depends American civilization.

COMMUNITY RESPONSIBILITY FOR DELINQUENCY

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IN CONSIDERATION of all of our efforts and expense, there has apparently not been the decrease in delinquency which we would have expected. This is due either to the fact that delinquency is one of the solutions to life's problems—one of the necessary and expected parts of our cultural pattern—or to the fact that we have not been attacking the problem in the correct way. While both alternatives are probably to a certain extent correct, I shall speak solely of the second.

The philosophy of our attack on the problem of delinquency has been largely individualistic. The psychologist with his tests and measurements, the psychiatrist with his mental conflicts, and the social worker with her intensive case work have all vividly emphasized the importance of the mental life just preceding the delinquency. Healy has expressed all of this in his statement that the critical point in the whole problem is the mental life or imagery just preceding, and leading up to, the delinquent act.

I shall not get away from this point of view, but it is fair to inquire as deeply as we can into the forces which operate in this "mental imagery which just precedes" the delinquency. I believe that we shall see that the cards are stacked by the community and that the child's thinking or imagery is not in any sense free from community influences.

For simpler presentation, we may consider this from the point of view of prevention, causation, and cure.

Prevention.—The outstanding consideration here is that society is not really interested in the prevention of delinquency.

This may seem an unwarranted statement, but the briefest review of the situation shows it to be true.

We have known for some time that there is some relationship between poverty and delinquency. Yet society has supported a political and social structure which has meant that large groups must live either in poverty or in marginal economic states.

We have known for some time that there is some relationship between poor housing conditions and delinquency. Yet society has interested itself in better housing only when it appeared that in this way more people could be put to work.

We have known for some time that there is some relationship between broken homes and delinquency. Yet society has continued feverishly to exploit industrialization, urban concentration, the automobile—every sort of adjustment and device that increases the centrifugal pull on the family.

We have known for some time that there is some relationship between school retardation and delinquency. Yet in the best of our school systems we wait for a child to be three years retarded before any careful assay of the factors involved is made. Even this tragically tardy program is being attacked and curtailed at many points.

We have known for some time that there is some relationship between intellectual retardation and delinquency. There are very few states with even anything like an adequate institutional program for this group. There is no state with any sort of community program for the industrial, social, and recreational needs of this group. Proudly and expensively we marshal them through our Binet classes. But we have nothing for them outside of this school program.

Causation.—The direct cause lies in the mental imagery of the delinquent—the mental content just preceding the delinquency. Who and what is this delinquent?

Is he just the things he does or needs? The law, the school, social work, have long thought so—measuring only the delin-

quencies, what the children learned, material relief. But many of us began to integrate these acts into the actor.

Is he just an actor? Many of us still think so—measuring the intelligence, diagnosing the present physical and mental ailments that are at the root of the trouble, measuring attitudes, etc. But a number of us began integrating this actor into his whole life-history.

Is he then a river, accumulating from all his springs and tributaries the forces and drives that now show themselves? Many of us accept this and feel that it is only as we know the earlier life-history of any individual that we can understand his present acts. This has been the source of much of the recent emphasis on studying and understanding the child. But some of us have integrated this life-history into the whole community.

Here, at least for the present, we can stand. The artifices and shams, the triumphs and tawdry cheapnesses of the community—all of these flow into the child and become a part of him. He who comes to you in agency, school, or clinic brings with him the dirt of his street, or its challenging struggle to some distant goal.

So it is true that the critical matter in delinquency is the mental imagery of the delinquent, but this delinquent is the community. As we know him better, the wall of individualization melts away and we see here little more than a section or a part of the community in which he lives. Again we see the responsibility of the community in the problem of delinquency.

Cure.—True to American custom, the cure of delinquency has been delegated to machines. The court, the clinic, probation—these machines are expected to cure the delinquent, and if they fall down on their job we plead for better standards of work on their part. But delinquency is the result of long conditioning, and until we change the community and until we alter the conditions of living of the delinquent, we shall get nowhere with our therapeutic program.

We must keep our machinery, but these agencies must be

forever changing the community through what they learn of the delinquent. Delinquency is a dramatization of our social problems and difficulties. The real cure lies in more understanding parents, teachers, recreation leaders, etc. We who are the pieces of machinery are fulfilling our task only when we use the knowledge that we get from delinquents to help those who naturally surround the child to a better understanding of his needs and of the ways in which those needs can be met. Delinquency comes out of the clashing interests of child and society—it can be cured only by a reconditioning of the child in his normal, usual social milieu.

EXPERIMENTS IN PREVENTING JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

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THE material which I shall here present is based on a few observations that I have been able to make while sitting at a desk in a national agency whose primary concern is child welfare in all of its phases. Obviously, within the limits of this paper it is impossible to do more than mention a few directions in which certain communities have been moving to meet the challenge offered by the socially unsatisfactory conduct of their juveniles.

Some think that something should be done about parents, and many state universities are now offering extension courses in child study and guidance for parents. But time does not permit going into that subject at this time. Just beyond the parents and the home lies the school. Compulsory attendance laws in this country anticipate that the public schools shall come into contact with all of the nation's children. This lays upon the school a tremendous responsibility. For this open door to education has not proved to be exactly the open sesame that some of our ancestors seem to have fondly expected that it would be. I want to pay tribute to the work of the visiting teacher and the child-study and guidance clinics in some of our school systems. Certainly anyone familiar with the needs of children and with the work of properly qualified visiting teachers will agree, without reservation, that they belong among the front ranks of those who are doing duty in the field of crime prevention. We might pause for just a moment to look at an example or two that illustrate the quiet effectiveness of their work.

Of the nine school districts in Portland, Oregon, that have

visiting-teacher service, one in particular stands out in relation to the prevention of delinquency. Several years ago, according to reports, that district was notorious for the amount of its juvenile delinquency. Last year only one boy was sent to the juvenile court. The visiting teachers do not by any means claim full credit for that reduction. However, they have participated energetically in the movement to co-ordinate a variety of services formerly going their separate ways. A small community center was established in the area. It has become the headquarters for most of the child-welfare efforts in the district. An active case committee on which all agencies are represented meets regularly and is said to have been helpful in stimulating all agencies to develop their special services to the highest possible degree. The Portland visiting teachers are represented on the Boys' and Girls' Council, which is a group of workers in the children's field organized by the community chest, and on the neighborhood council central committee, which is working in co-operation with the juvenile court on a co-ordinating council program. Ten such councils have been established in the Portland area.

From Rochester, New York, where the visiting-teacher work has been steadily developing since 1913, come some significant statements. During the early years the visiting teacher worked in very close co-operation with the juvenile court. Many of the cases referred to her were advanced delinquency problems. She also worked hand in hand with the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. As time went on and other social agencies developed new phases in their programs, the visiting-teacher activities developed in other directions, and especially in the direction of reaching children during the earlier stages of their difficulties, discovered through school channels without the intervention of any outside agent. For example, the average age of one hundred cases referred to visiting teachers in Rochester in 1913 was between thirteen and fourteen years. In 1933 the average age of a companion group of one hundred cases was about nine years. These were all cases from within

the schools. This is evidence that the schools themselves are growing more sensitive to maladjustments in their children and are seeking help for them.

The director of the child-study department of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children supplies some figures which he believes give an interesting and true picture of some of the co-ordinated work in that city. The number of official cases where juvenile delinquency was proved dropped from 330 in 1929 to 174 in 1933. The number placed on probation dropped from 152 to 80, and the number sent to correctional institutions from 90 to 35. On the other hand, the number committed to care in foster-homes increased from 4 to 25. The director believes that these figures tend to confirm his own conviction that they are now beginning to get in touch with the children needing help at an early enough point in their delinquent careers so that less drastic treatment is feasible and the outlook is much more hopeful.

This child-study department is a psychological clinic for the study of children and their problems, with service available to all children's agencies, financed jointly by the county and the community chest. Its report for the year ended March 31, 1933, asserts that one of its major contributions is in its co-ordinating function. In the words of the report:

The danger of dissecting a child's life and dealing with it in compartments is very real, and too often we find the school, the law, the physician, the social agency, and the home, all working along diverse lines, pulling in conflicting directions, and quite unconscious of each other's efforts. One of the most helpful aspects of our work is to draw together, after our study of a child, these various interests and resources, and develop a united and consistent mode of approaching the child's problems.

This same report reviews the findings of a study that had just been completed in which the progress made by 110 difficult children referred by one agency was checked throughout a year's period. Again quoting from the report:

In 85 cases the agency followed the plan as it was worked out in conference. Of these children 83 are making at least a moderately satisfactory adjustment, one is having serious difficulties, and one plan proved so unsatis-

factory that a different plan had to be made. In the 25 cases where the agency, for reasons it considered valid, decided to adopt some other plan than that worked out in conference, the results are quite different. Eleven of these children have so completely failed to adjust that it has been necessary to try some other plan (usually the one adopted in conference). Several others are in serious difficulties. Roughly speaking the chance of success is some ten times greater when the conference plan is followed.

Although the number of cases is so small as to make far-reaching conclusions impossible, there is certainly evidence enough here to encourage far greater experimentation with their conference plan, and to indicate the importance of careful application of the treatment plans agreed upon. One of the principal objectives of the organizations known as the Big Brothers and Big Sisters is the prevention of social maladjustment, and consequently of delinquency. The service, as you know, was very largely rendered by lay persons. The trend at the present time seems to be to concentrate largely on helping children in the public schools who show evidences that they are likely to become delinquent. The Big Brother and Big Sister Federation has recently made some surveys of predelinquent children in certain selected cities. They have reported three such studies, one covering three cities in the Middle West, another a group of ten midwestern cities, and one covering twenty-six towns in New York State. These studies were made through the public schools and with the close co-operation of the superintendents, principals, and teachers in the areas covered.

The compilations from the questionnaires which were turned in by the teachers show that they rated slightly more than 2 per cent of the school population as so-called "problem" children. The Federation reports that in some places, following these surveys, "school guidance councils" have been formed. In some places they are known as "intramural cabinets." This council, or cabinet, brings together in closer working relationship such individuals as the superintendent, the school nurse, the recreation worker, the attendance officer, the psychologist, the vocational-guidance worker, the director of parent-education, the visiting teacher, and the psychometrist. Beyond this intra-

mural cabinet it is expected that there will be a community council, composed of representatives of public and private agencies, of which the superintendent of schools shall be chairman. Here again we note the tendency toward organization of coordinating councils.

Two large-scale projects having as their primary objective delinquency prevention merit attention. The first is the Crime Prevention Bureau of the New York Police Department, established on June 16, 1931, in the Police Department on a permanent basis by amendment to the Greater New York Charter.

The Bureau is directed by a trained and experienced social worker who is the sixth deputy police commissioner. At the present time the staff includes, in addition to the sixth deputy commissioner, a police inspector and a case supervisor who assists her in the general executive and supervisory functions. Other personnel consist of 3 acting captains, 17 lieutenants, 4 sergeants, 25 crime-prevention investigators (trained case-workers), 86 patrolmen, 41 patrolwomen, 10 policewomen, and the requisite stenographic and clerical aids. There is a considerable headquarters staff, but, for the most part, these workers are detailed to field units, each covering a specific district, which usually includes a number of the smaller police precincts. Each field unit has a trained and experienced social worker as its leader.

The work of this Crime Prevention Bureau falls into two distinct phases. The crime-prevention workers are primarily concerned with community conditions as they affect young people under twenty-one. They are, therefore, concerned with the conditions to be found in such places as dance halls, social clubs, stationery and candy stores, lodging-houses, poolrooms, public baths, and beer gardens. In connection with their work of keeping watch on such establishments, they have developed cooperative relationships with the uniformed officers on the beat, who frequently report to the crime-prevention unit conditions which they believe are threatening the welfare of children or

older boys or girls and work with them in an attempt to improve conditions.

I recently visited one of these precinct units in order to see something of their work at first hand. Let me give you just two examples of the type of thing they are doing—one in relation to girls and one in relation to boys. In this particular district lies the Brooklyn navy yard. The area has in it many cheap lodging-houses. Into these flock the young girls for whom the fleet is a never failing magnet. There seems to be practically no control over these lodging-houses in the way of a licensing ordinance. The crime-prevention workers used their right to search for missing girls as a pretext for entering many of the lodging-houses in which they had learned that girls under twenty-one were living under conditions anything but satisfactory.

During the past year they have picked up about two hundred missing girls under twenty-one. They practically never arrest a girl. They talk with her and secure her voluntary co-operation. She usually agrees to go to a selected private home or a supervised lodging-house while the crime-prevention staff is trying to work out a satisfactory plan for her. She usually agrees, if the conditions under which she has been living seem to indicate a need for it, to submit to a physical examination for her own protection. A very high percentage of these missing girls, of whom a special study was made, were suffering from gonorrhea or syphilis when located. When found infected, a girl is sent to the City Hospital for treatment until rendered non-infectious. This is always done on a voluntary basis, the girl being made to see how important it is for her own welfare that she have this early and immediate treatment. In all cases, whether the girl is diseased or not, the procedure is on a strictly case-work basis. The crime-prevention worker gets in touch with the girl's home community and tries to work out a plan for her adjustment there. The workers report that when they first began going into this navy yard and waterfront area, they found many girls under eighteen in these questionable rooming-

houses, but that during the past few months they have seldom found one under eighteen.

This same district includes an area which has always fostered juvenile and adult criminal gangs. It is the area in which Al Capone got his early training. A great deal of the time of the young men officers in the crime-prevention unit is devoted to discovering and endeavoring to break up some of the well-organized boy gangs. One of the well-known ones was the gang of Forty Thieves. It was composed, so far as the officers could discover, of some sixty-one members ranging in age from nine to twenty-three years. It took more than two years' work completely to break up this gang. About twenty-three of its members are said to have been very satisfactorily and definitely adjusted and to have been in no difficulty of any kind for a considerable period. Some of the others, particularly among the older members, had to be prosecuted, and it seemed best to have some of them sent away to institutions.

The crime-prevention unit considers it its first job to know all the possible resources of the district and to utilize every possible appropriate agency in connection with its work on behalf of individual boys or groups of boys. The unit has also sought to encourage the organization of more activities; for example, more Boy Scout troops, more Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. activities without charge, more recreation in connection with school plants and school playgrounds.

One of the ways in which the crime-prevention workers have been most successful in substituting new activities for the old gang life during the summer season has been through the Police Athletic League, better known as the P.A.L. Throughout the metropolitan area last year these crime-prevention units organized boys into baseball teams and leagues. More than seven thousand boys were organized into teams and played off a series of games, ending with one big final contest which was made into a city-wide event.

The other approach to the breaking up of boy gangs is through

working on an individual case basis, getting acquainted with individual boys, especially the leaders, learning something about their whole social situation, and then trying to meet their special problems in an effective manner, always in co-operation with the boy, avoiding arrests whenever possible.

The second phase of the Crime Prevention Bureau's work is this work with individual cases. Boys and girls who have become delinquent or who seem to be in danger of doing so are brought to the police daily from many sources. Many other cases grow out of the Bureau's work on community conditions. One of the principal sources from which cases come to them is the general police force. Another source from which children are referred in considerable numbers is the public-school system. The list of other agencies, both public and private, that refer cases regularly to the Crime Prevention Bureau is a very long and inclusive one. It certainly seems to indicate that most of the social agencies have become familiar with the work of this police unit, have confidence in it, and are dependent on it for certain types of service.

The Crime Prevention Bureau does not wish to do any long-time case work. If it is not possible to make an immediate adjustment, the Crime Prevention Bureau's policy is to do only enough investigation to determine what the child's principal needs are so that the case may be referred to the proper agency for further study and treatment. The Bureau places special emphasis on the necessity for utilizing every possible community resource on behalf of the children whose needs have been discovered by them. The list of agencies to which cases are transferred or referred is a long one. To seek to arouse community interest in building up better facilities for social treatment is one of the obligations of the Crime Prevention Bureau executives.

The other specific project to which I should like to direct your attention is the co-ordinating council program in Los Angeles County, California. In 1931 the Juvenile Court and the Probation Department of that county decided to seek to develop a

co-ordinating council plan in Los Angeles such as had been originated in Berkeley, California, and the program was launched on April 4, 1932. The purpose of the first co-ordinating councils was described as being to provide an effective medium through which a community could undertake to accomplish certain things—to solve the behavior problems of its children in their earliest stages, before they become sufficiently serious to require the services of the juvenile court; to strengthen home and community influences that shape personalities for responsible social living; to eliminate influences that lead or drive young people to delinquency or crime; and to co-ordinate the facilities of the state and the local community so that the unadjusted child may be sure to receive the benefit of all available services of which he may be in need.

These first councils dealt with individual cases of children presenting behavior problems. Each council was composed of representatives from the schools, the police, and the departments of welfare, health, recreation, and probation. The schools played an important part in discovering children in need of study and service. The proceedings of these case conferences were strictly confidential. No outside persons knew what cases were discussed or what action was taken. But each case was carefully studied and the entire resources of the community were then brought to bear on working out the child's problems.

Inevitably the councils, in their analyses of the problems of particular children, were confronted with a great variety of home and community conditions in relation to the particular instances of delinquency. They came face to face with the great dearth, in some areas, of sorely needed facilities for insuring the wholesome growth and development of children's personalities. The original councils began to expand; both in membership and in program. Private agencies, churches, and men's and women's organizations were represented and the councils sought to remedy unsatisfactory community situations when found. The original group continued to function as a case-study committee

within the larger council, reporting needs, as discovered, to the larger group for action.

The movement grew amazingly under the leadership of Judge Samuel Blake, Chief Probation Officer K. J. Scudder, and their associates. In December, 1933, a roster of councils showed that forty-seven had been organized in Los Angeles County, nineteen of which were within the city limits of Los Angeles. One has been organized since that time, so that the total is now forty-eight. The general plan was to use the high-school district as a unit for council activity. All of these councils, in turn, are organized into a central body. They have recently undergone still further reorganization to meet the expanding administrative and executive needs. In the March-April, 1934, number of the *Juvenile Research Bulletin*, which is issued bimonthly by the Juvenile Research Committee of the Los Angeles County co-ordinating councils, the new "three-committee plan" of organization is described. At present the officers of a co-ordinating council usually include a chairman, a vice-chairman, a secretary, and the chairmen of three committees known as the adjustment committee, the character-building committee, and the environment committee. These six officers constitute an executive committee for the council. There is an executive board which is the central policy-forming group for the forty-eight councils. That board is composed of members selected to represent each of the three committees named above, three for each committee.

The *Bulletin* also points out that the co-ordinating council does not do case work, but that it does attempt to see to it that the problems of individual children are discovered early and are referred to the proper agency for adjustment; that any lacks discovered in the community facilities in the character-building or recreational field are referred to the proper organizations for action; and that the necessary support is obtained for movements to secure additional facilities as need is demonstrated, by organizations and groups best qualified to do that type of work.

Those who are participating in the work of these co-ordinat-

ing councils, and outsiders who have observed them in action, believe that the work of the councils has had something to do with the decided reduction in juvenile-court cases in certain districts in 1933 as compared with 1932. Two such districts showed a 38 per cent reduction in the course of the year. Another showed a 32 per cent reduction. In four other council districts the decrease in juvenile-court cases had been more than 20 per cent within the year.

The thing that they do enthusiastically point to as seeming to be a direct result of community organization and education is the almost revolutionary change in many communities in the attitude toward the child in conflict with social standards and the law. They expressed great satisfaction in "seeing community after community face their responsibility to youth and childhood and settle down to an organized effort to meet the responsibility." They report that when these communities now have to file petitions in juvenile court, it is no longer with a "good riddance of bad rubbish" attitude. There is a real recognition of the fact that the child is definitely a product of the things his community has done—or had permitted to be done—to him, and of the things it has failed to do for him. Council workers are convinced of the value of the power that is generated by this union of all forces interested in the promotion of healthy and happy growth and development in children.

In conclusion it may be pointed out that there is observed a steady trend away from the self-sufficient agency, operating more or less independently on its own pet projects, toward joint effort and a genuine attempt to co-ordinate and utilize, in a carefully thought-out plan, all the community's resources for the benefit of the community's children. Any community of any size can take this principle of concerted action and adapt it to its own problems, needs, and resources.

A PLAN FOR CO-OPERATION ON THE PART OF
PUBLIC-SCHOOL AUTHORITIES IN
PREVENTING DELINQUENCY

*Thomas W. Hopkins, Assistant Superintendent
of Schools, Board of Education,
Jersey City*

THROUGH an intelligent and constructive program of guidance for the youth of today, we shall be able to insure a social structure, a few years hence, which will not only have forgotten the trying experiences of a world-wide depression, but one which will preclude the possibility of a repetition of such social chaos. Failure to act wisely in the promotion of an orderly, evolutionary program for social betterment will simply leave the field open to the radical, revolutionary forces which are so dominant in foreign countries today.

There seem to be, at the present time, two great obstacles in the pathway of progress for groups of social workers. The first and most discouraging one is the economic condition which has prevailed throughout the entire universe in varying degrees and forms. In the enthusiasm for retrenchment, among the first departments to feel the burden of the vast economies have been those which do not yield tangible results, such as the social agencies. Substantial social planning is at low ebb, and in reality the various proposals receiving public consideration are beginning at the wrong end for real economy. The majority of the semiscientific schemes proposed are striking at the very roots of our social structure rather than at the nonessential or even antisocial activities which might well be eliminated.

The second major obstacle which seems to block our progress in social reconstruction is a lack of co-ordination in the social workers' program. The past decade or two have seen the rise of a multitude of new ideas in this field, not always in harmony,

which have shown themselves in various forms, such as extensive sociological studies; the publication of multitudes of books, magazines, and reports; the rapid growth of college courses in established colleges and universities for social workers; and, finally, the injection of scientifically trained specialists such as psychologists and psychiatrists into the field of social work. As yet there seems to be an entire lack of co-ordination of the various component parts of the total machinery available.

Taking these two factors into consideration—the lack of understanding, on the part of the public, of the wisdom of its economic retrenchment program and the failure of the various groups of social workers to understand one another—it is easy to realize why more progress has not been made in firmly establishing the “New Deal” in social work (compared with that in the economic world). The present status of the situation must be clearly understood and faced if public confidence is to be retained and expanded and if there is to be a full realization of the potential opportunities for constructive work.

A program of co-operation worked out in Jersey City during the last three depression years is the one which this paper will attempt to outline. Jersey City has been able to convince its citizens that not only is it shortsighted economy to curtail its budget for social work, but also that in these times this program should be considerably expanded. Further than this, it has succeeded in co-ordinating existing facilities, modifying them, and adding to them any new elements which showed promise of improving the total program of child welfare. The idea of prevention rather than cure has been the predominating thought throughout the planning and development of the present child welfare unit.

In an earnest attempt to adjust the maladjusted children in our schools, and to understand and guide the juvenile offenders in our community, Mayor Frank Hague has provided the necessary leadership to unite every local public agency, including the schools, the police department, the courts, the municipal medical center, and the correctional institutions. Under the ex-

isting arrangement it is not possible for any child to become involved in serious difficulty with the school authorities or with the law without having a thorough investigation made of his home, school, and leisure-hour activities as well as of his physical and mental condition in order to determine the causal factors which are shaping his career in an antisocial direction.

Further than this, no child is permitted to be taken into a police station, a court-room, or an institution until after he seems to have become a chronic offender and a menace to the other children in the neighborhood. The rôle of the neighborhood hero for the boy who has appeared in the police station or court is eliminated by conferences held with parent and child during which the responsibility for the proper conduct of the child is made emphatic to the parent and child. When parents fail to realize their duty, any charges to be preferred are preferred against the parents under the Child Welfare Act of the state of New Jersey. It is important to mention at this point that we have one of the finest child welfare acts to be found in any of the forty-eight states in the Union, and this proves a most important aid in compelling negligent parents to realize their responsibility in the proper supervision of their children.

The organization which handles all juvenile cases in connection with this preventive program is known as the Bureau of Special Service of the Jersey City Board of Education. The school system was charged with the responsibility of organizing and co-ordinating this comprehensive program due to the following considerations: first, the school is the only agency which deals with all juveniles, any one of whom may be considered as a potential delinquent; second, the school, of necessity, deals with all of the children during the formative years of their development when a preventive program is of most direct value; and, finally, many of the necessary agencies are already in existence, in the school system and need only a change of viewpoint and proper orientation to increase their value many fold.

The present personnel of this bureau consists of twenty-five attendance officers; seven visiting teachers; five plain-clothes

police officers; a clinic, including psychological, psychiatric, and physical examiners; and, last but not least, a staff of twenty-five recreational directors. All conceivable forms of activity bearing on the field of child welfare are represented. In addition to this, an assistant superintendent of schools devotes his entire time to the supervision of this Bureau and of the various classes for handicapped and maladjusted children. The thesis of this entire organization is that every case of maladjustment has definite causal factors of a physical, mental, or environmental nature which should be recognized and carefully considered before the child is institutionalized or held responsible in any other manner.

In handling all school cases the procedure is as follows:

1. Children showing definite signs of abnormal physical or mental conditions are reported to the Bureau of Special Service on special forms prepared for such reports. Accompanying this report is a complete statement of the school history on the permanent record card of the school system, as well as the analytical statement of personality traits, recreational habits and interests, and any special indications of maladjustment.
2. These cases are then referred to the visiting teachers for complete investigations of both home and school conditions. This record becomes a cumulative one by means of weekly follow-up visits by the visiting teachers.
3. All children are scheduled for complete clinical examination in the light of the information gained from school and home. Special attention is given to sensory defects due to the direct bearing which they may have in determining potential success or failure of subsequent potential emotional reactions.
4. Weekly conferences of visiting teachers, school officials, and clinical examiners are held for the discussion of these cases in an attempt to formulate a well-rounded judgment as to the proper way of handling each individual.
5. Recommendations are made to the superintendent of schools regarding the necessity for transferring children to the various special classes and schools. Further than this, recommendations are also made for the establishment of additional classes of a given type or additional types of classes.

The following policy has been definitely established in the handling of police cases to replace the old system of allowing individual police officers to take boys to police stations or place them in correctional institutions pending action of the court:

1. Whenever a child is detected committing some juvenile offense of sufficient importance to demand police attention, he is escorted to his home by

the officer, who secures the name, age, address, and school attended. The following day a complete report is made to the captain of the police detail assigned to this Bureau, giving the foregoing information together with the offense committed by the child. In very severe cases the child may be taken to the children's ward of the Jersey City Medical Center, from which he can be released only by order of this bureau.

2. Parents are notified to present themselves at the office of the Bureau of Special Service, accompanied by the child, for a conference regarding the reported offense.

3. Complete statements are taken from parents and children regarding the family conditions, home life, and recreational habits of the child. They are given to understand that continuance of such offenses will lead to serious difficulty and are advised in regard to the regulation of the children's habits along constructive lines.

4. All of these cases are given clinical examinations as those described for children reported by the school authorities, when they seem advisable, and the parents are advised in regard to necessary treatment.

5. Follow-up visits are made to the home and the school by plain-clothes officers, who secure information regarding the child's activities, home conditions, and the attitude of the parents, until such time as there is sufficient evidence that there is no further need for this follow-up work.

6. In those cases where parents show the proper co-operation, and still the children continue to be delinquent, the child is taken before the juvenile court with a complete statement of the case and the desirability of a correctional institution is decided by the judge. This has been necessary in less than 10 per cent of the cases which were formerly automatically referred to such a court.

Many of the units in such an organization—such as attendance officers, police, school physicians, and possibly visiting teachers and recreational directors—are already in existence in many of our larger cities, and certainly some of them in every town and city, depending upon the size of the municipality. The particular claim to credit which Jersey City makes is that it has combined such agencies into one unit and extended the use of some so that a complete picture of every child is available and he is to be judged and guided in the light of this rather than by the isolated act which brings him to the attention of the officials. The main difficulty hindering American judicial and penal systems, according to some of our outstanding penologists and criminologists, is the failure of society to provide a fair and complete means of understanding the act in terms of the indi-

vidual and his complex thinking and his more complex emotional life.

During the three years of this experiment, the only part of the organization which has been questioned has been the utilization of police officers in handling children. In my opinion this is one of the most distinctive and valuable parts of the entire unit. When the fact is taken into consideration that as long as juveniles break laws in their leisure hours they are bound to come into contact with police officers, most of them untrained in the handling of juveniles, it would seem much more desirable to have the contact made with a group of selected officers who have had special training in the work and who appreciate fully the objectives of such a program. In addition, the elimination of the station-houses and the courtroom and other such hardening influences is a very necessary asset in any truly preventive program. Unless the school system shows the way, provides desirable physical surroundings for the proper contact of the juvenile with the police officer, and knows the circumstances surrounding the necessity of such contact, it can neither blame the police for improper handling of the boy nor know the real boy in his out-of-school hours when such contacts are usually brought about. The emphasis which has been placed upon an intelligent utilization of the police department has not, as the uninformed might believe, been a frenzied attempt to correct unusually bad conditions.

The real facts as to the moral and social conditions of Jersey City, both before and during the development of this Bureau, may best be judged by the rating which the United States Department of Justice has given it over the period of the last five years. During this five-year period, that federal department has annually rated Jersey City as the outstanding city, of over one hundred thousand population, in its freedom from major crimes. Its rate ranges from one-seventh to one-tenth of that of the city with the highest rate for such crimes. In the light of such facts it may readily be seen that the Jersey City program is based entirely upon a wholesome realization of the val-

ues of co-operation between agencies such as the school and the police department which have hitherto had nothing in common except their geographical location even though they were supposedly working along similar lines in an attempt to help the juvenile.

The recreational program, which has been most helpful in modifying the out-of-school activities of children between the ages of ten and twenty inclusive, is a direct attempt to offset the many inviting and hazardous experiences of the street-corner play gangs which so often develop leadership of a very undesirable nature. It is also a direct result of the realization that the school must take into consideration the effects of habits and attitudes gained in the nineteen hours which children have to spend away from the supervision of the teachers and very often out of sight of parents. Further than this, no complex reasoning was required to bring about the realization that the use of the school buildings for the traditional five hours was a poor business return upon an original investment of millions of dollars of public money when they might as well be used as neighborhood centers for guidance and character-building.

At the present time six of our largest and most modern school buildings are thrown open five nights each week, and from three to four thousand boys find wholesome, attractive surroundings each evening from 7:00 to 10:00 P.M. Athletics, games of all sorts, club activities, shop work, and instrumental music provide a complete program of attractive boyhood activities. Present plans call for the opening of four additional centers, as soon as the money is available, and an extension of the work to include girls of the same age range.

The importance of adequate recreational and guidance programs for boys and girls of this age range can best be realized when one stops to consider the reports appearing in our daily newspapers from sources of a widely divergent nature. There is a definite agreement that our hardened criminals are mere youths who are the product of unsatisfactory community conditions. The semiannual report of the Department of Justice

covering the period from January, 1933, to June of the same year showed that in an analysis of 159,493 fingerprint records the nineteen-year-olds outnumbered all other age groups. "Although nineteen-year-olds exceeded eighteen-year-olds by only 10 per cent in total arrests, their offenses were graver. Age nineteen exceeded age eighteen by 74 per cent in criminal homicide; 37 per cent in carrying weapons; 34 per cent in assault; and 27 per cent in robbery."

Many scientific studies have been made of the causes of this alarming growth of a younger criminal generation, and there seems to be almost a uniform conclusion drawn by the investigators that the basic causes lie in unfortunate and unnecessary community conditions. This thought was recently voiced by that socially minded woman leader, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, when, in talking to a group of women, she summarized the situation by saying: "The fact is that criminals arise from conditions in the community, and we must go back to the roots of the cause. Women must interest themselves in housing, school, in the feeding of children, and in industrial relations, for they must be interested in the wages that are paid. Undernourished children, badly housed, are the beginning criminals." Of course this implies a much broader plan of action than any community has yet undertaken, but at the same time it offers no excuse for failure to attempt to use existing facilities in a co-ordinated effort to reach the age groups where our potential criminals are developing and to provide wholesome contacts for them.

Judicious readjustment of our scale of social values can be accomplished only by the awakening of public opinion, which at the present time is merely awaiting the stimulus of an enlightened leadership. Direct evidence of this fact is plainly visible in Jersey City where the local service clubs have united in promoting the work of the Bureau of Special Service. At present, approximately forty business men from these clubs have united in a "big brother" movement and are sacrificing their time for conferences on the general subject of child welfare, for contacts

with juvenile delinquents, and for making home visits in the most dilapidated homes of our city in an attempt to understand and help the youthful offenders intrusted to them. The combined interest, intelligence, and effort of these outstanding groups of professional and business men mean much in the understanding, stimulation, and promotion of a still more effective community program of child welfare in Jersey City.

Throughout this entire paper the subject of prevention rather than cure is predominant, the emphasis on guiding juveniles so as to prevent contact with institutions of correction is considered essential. However, this again should not be considered as an emergency measure to meet unusually bad conditions in the local and state institutions any more than the policy of using the police force was made necessary by a critical situation in our own city. Every well-informed citizen of New Jersey is proud of the institutional program of our state, and particularly the present progressive policies which have been initiated and carried on under the leadership of Commissioner William J. Ellis. The stupidity of society in wanting to institutionalize every problem case which it has created is not only not indorsed but openly criticized by our commissioner himself.

Those identified with the preventive program described feel that it is utterly impossible to expect people to be well trained to live in normal society by confining them in an opposite type of social group and that such a program has little merit from whatever angle it may be considered. In addition to this fallacy, unnecessary institutionalization goes a step farther by stigmatizing the weak with a record, before demanding that they go out and make good in an already distrusting society. The fallacy of our present procedure was well stated by Sir Thomas Moore some eighty years ago when he said: "For if you suffer your people to be ill educated and their manners to be corrupted from their infancy and then punish them for crimes to which their first education disposed them, what else is to be concluded from this but that you first make thieves and then punish them?"

At the present time our country, with its "new leisure," faces a supreme challenge to enrich social life by utilizing and extending existing preventive public facilities, at a very small additional cost, and to maintain democracy; or, to succumb to one or more of the imported or foreign "isms" with the sacrifice of all the splendid ideals that democracy has developed thus far. This challenge cannot be ignored.

During the past month this situation has most ably been discussed in a syndicated article by Frederic J. Haskin, of Washington, D.C., in which he summarizes the findings of Thomas S. Rice, a well-known writer and former member of the New York State Statutory Crime Commission.

As an educator I wish to indorse the statements made as accurate for the most part and to quote the following statement of Rice as sound and worthy of much serious consideration: "I have become pretty well convinced that the astounding and growing volume of vicious crime by boys and youths in the United States is simply due to the fact that boys who simply cannot learn are compelled to remain in school when they should be allowed to leave and go to work. . . . Too much of the wrong kind of schooling, rather than too little is responsible for the increase in crime." This, says Rice, relates especially to juvenile crime, and still more especially to metropolitan juvenile crime. In my own personal opinion, it is worthy of much consideration in the light of the present attempt further to nationalize education and force our country into an impossible position similar to that brought about by the Eighteenth Amendment. I am very pleased to congratulate the state of Missouri on the fact that it has not been stampeded into the adoption of such legislation.

Returning to the main object in mentioning the foregoing situation, I wish again to call attention to the lack of co-ordinated social planning and also to the almost total lack of stimulating leadership in the big field of social betterment. Existing groups whose very reason for existence is the betterment of society must unite in an honest endeavor to formulate and pro-

mote desirable policies or else allow well-intentioned but uninformed minorities to designate the conditions which are to control the destinies of the country. In order to anticipate undesirable conditions and prevent their repeated occurrence there must be co-ordination rather than isolation, co-operation rather than distrust, and a complete mobilization of forces rather than internal skirmishes.

Why should the welfare of our nation be intrusted to uncertain and negative policies? Without immediate contacts with the social problems, our insight into the causal factors, our supposedly enlightened vision, why should not the responsibility for a positive program be assumed by us? Full utilization and co-ordination of existing facilities can do much toward overcoming the majority of obstacles which this country is called upon to face at the present time, that is, granted that we have clear thinking and abundant courage. The present generation, as well as future generations, will profit much more by a carefully planned, co-ordinated program of prevention than they possibly could by the most elaborate program of after-treatment and alibis.

HEALTH AND ECONOMIC AREAS

Howard Whipple Green, Secretary, Cleveland Health Council, Cleveland

A TUBERCULOSIS death-rate of 90 or an infant mortality-rate of 60 means nothing to those charged with the reduction of these rates in the community. It is but a record of past performance. It contributes nothing to the understanding of the problem. It provides no direction to future action.

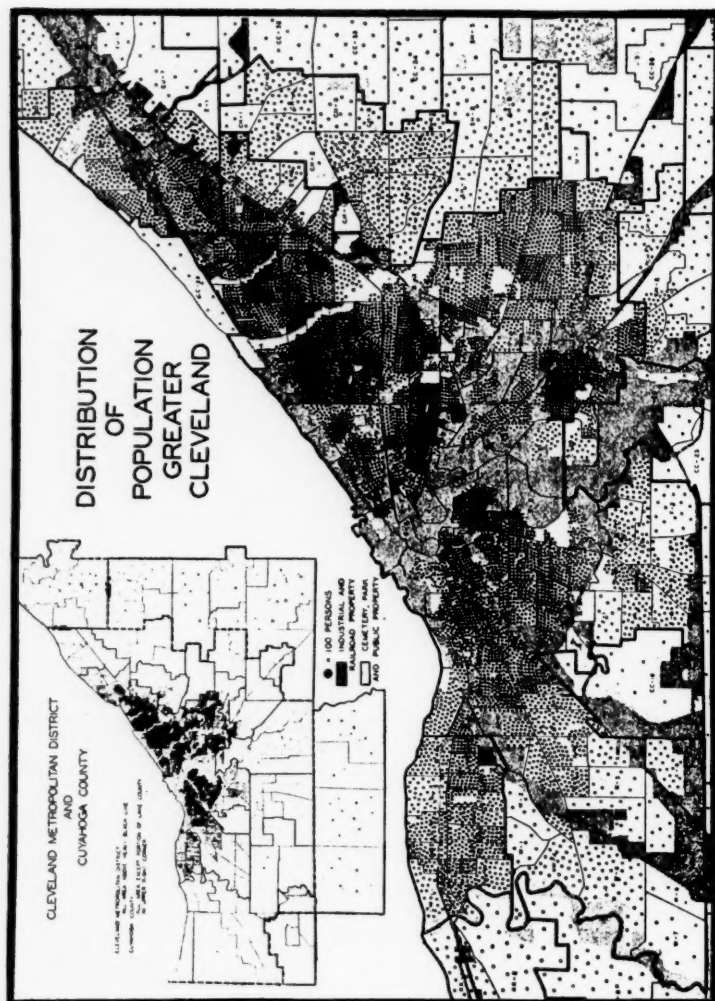
An age-specific tuberculosis death-rate for middle-aged people markedly higher than for young people helps in the understanding of the problem to some extent. A rate for girls and young women fifteen to twenty-four years of age of 106 as contrasted to a rate for boys and young men of the same ages of 64 presents a problem worthy of investigation. The middle-aged people can be found and given especial attention. Programs for work with girls and young women can be carried out.

Before census tracts this represented just about the limit of possible analysis. The geographical distribution of the problem was unmeasured. The question of where to concentrate effort and what effort to concentrate there was unanswered.

Whole cities were considered as statistical units. The city had a population of a certain number at the last census; it changed so many per cent during the decade; the composition and characteristics of its population were known. Its total death-rate was calculated and also rates by cause of death, by age, and possibly by sex.

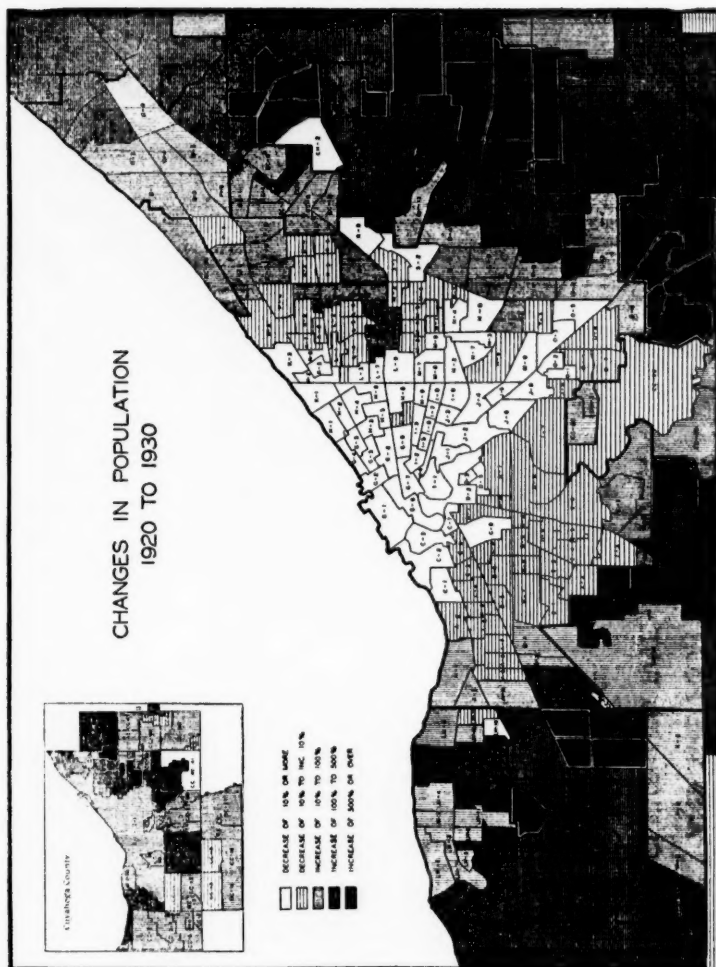
With the use of census tracts came the realization that the community is not an apple, uniform throughout, but rather a bunch of grapes, each differing from the other, some large, some small, some sweet, some sour, some good, and some rotten throughout. The population of the community, taking Cleveland as an illustration, is not distributed uniformly. Some

MAP I



MAP II

CHANGES IN POPULATION 1920 TO 1930



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PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN THE POPULATION OF EACH CENSUS TRACT BETWEEN 1920 AND 1930 IN
CLEVELAND AND ADJACENT CITIES AND VILLAGES

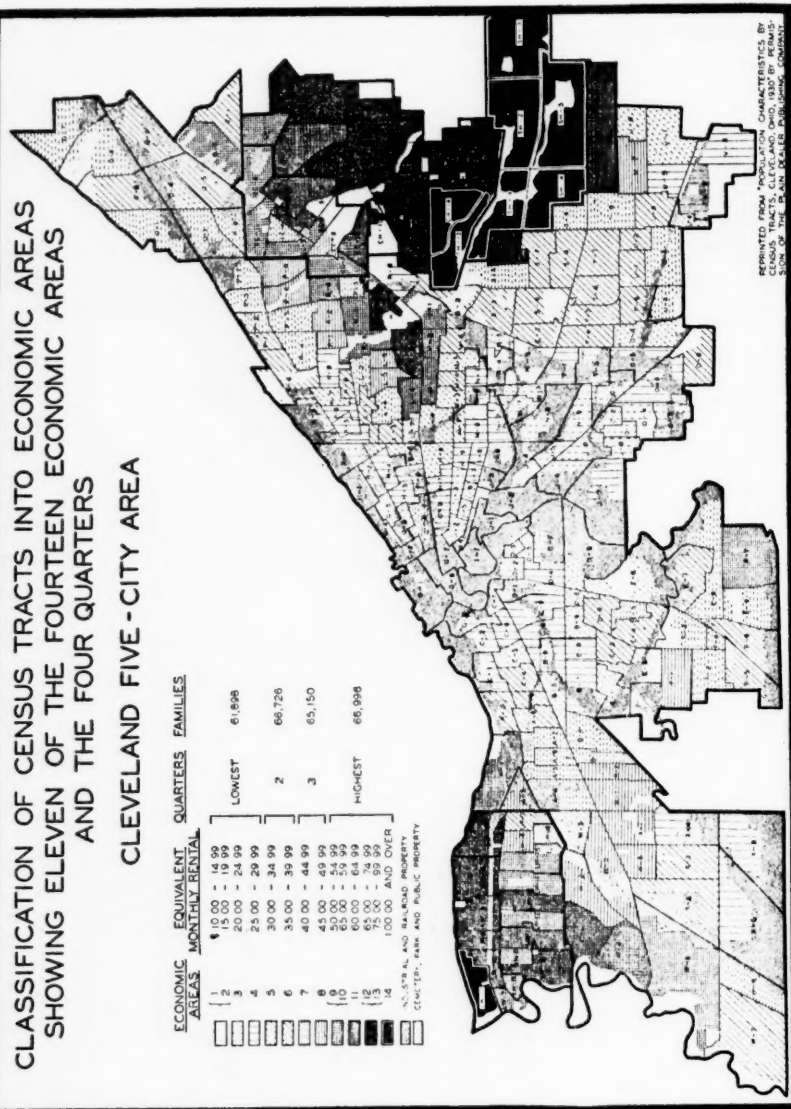
MAP III

CLASSIFICATION OF CENSUS TRACTS INTO ECONOMIC AREAS SHOWING ELEVEN OF THE FOURTEEN ECONOMIC AREAS AND THE FOUR QUARTERS

CLEVELAND FIVE-CITY AREA

ECONOMIC AREAS	EQUIVALENT MONTHLY RENTAL	QUARTERS	FAMILIES
1	\$ 10.00 - 14.99	LOWEST	61,828
2	15.00 - 19.99		
3	20.00 - 24.99		
4	25.00 - 29.99		
5	30.00 - 34.99		
6	35.00 - 39.99	2	66,726
7	40.00 - 44.99		
8	45.00 - 49.99		
9	50.00 - 54.99	3	65,150
10	55.00 - 59.99		
11	60.00 - 64.99		
12	65.00 - 69.99	HIGHEST	66,998
13	70.00 - 74.99		
14	75.00 - 79.99		
	80.00 AND OVER		

UNSHAD, AND RAILROAD PROPERTY
CITY, TOWN, AND PUBLIC PROPERTY



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sections decreased during the past decade and some increased enormously (see Maps I and II).

Some sections are inhabited by Negroes, others by those born in Poland or in Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, or Italy, and some sections are very largely native white (see Map III). The families in some areas live in poor houses for which they pay little rent or which they have bought at little cost, while others live in houses for which the monthly rental is high or the value great (see Map III). In some census tracts few of the families own their own homes, have radio sets, telephones, bath tubs, or mechanical refrigerators, while in other census tracts most of the families have these things.

In some sections made up of groups of census tracts the tuberculosis death-rate is high, while in others it is low. The infant mortality-rate and the total death-rate also vary from section to section.

With the universal use of census tracts in Cleveland came the use of the economic status, for it was very evident, as soon as things could be seen in 252 different parts of Cleveland, Lakewood, Cleveland Heights, East Cleveland, and Shaker Heights, that a close relationship existed between the frequency of these elements and the economic status of the people.

The equivalent monthly rental of each census tract was calculated and those census tracts having equivalent monthly rentals between \$10 and \$15 were grouped as belonging in the lowest economic area. Those with equivalent monthly rentals between \$15 and \$20 were grouped in the second economic area, etc. Those with equivalent monthly rentals between \$65 and \$75 were grouped in the twelfth economic area, between \$75 and \$100 in the thirteenth economic area, and those having equivalent monthly rentals of \$100 and over were put in the fourteenth or highest economic area.

With the economic areas established, it was relatively easy to calculate for each the percentage of families having radios, the percentage having telephones, and the percentage having automobiles, etc., as shown on Chart I. It was possible to learn whether or not other items varied in a similar manner.

CHART I

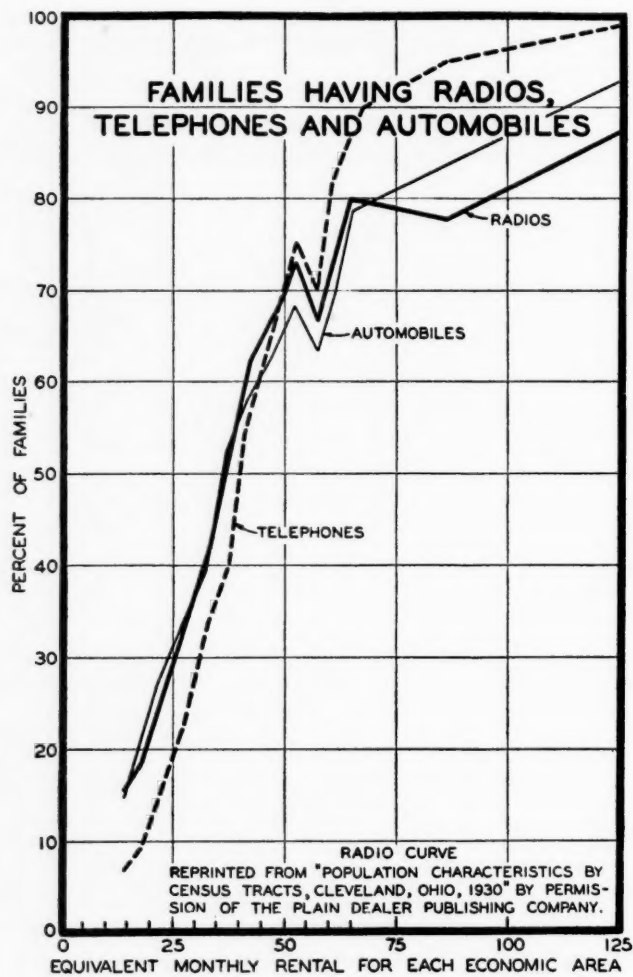


CHART II

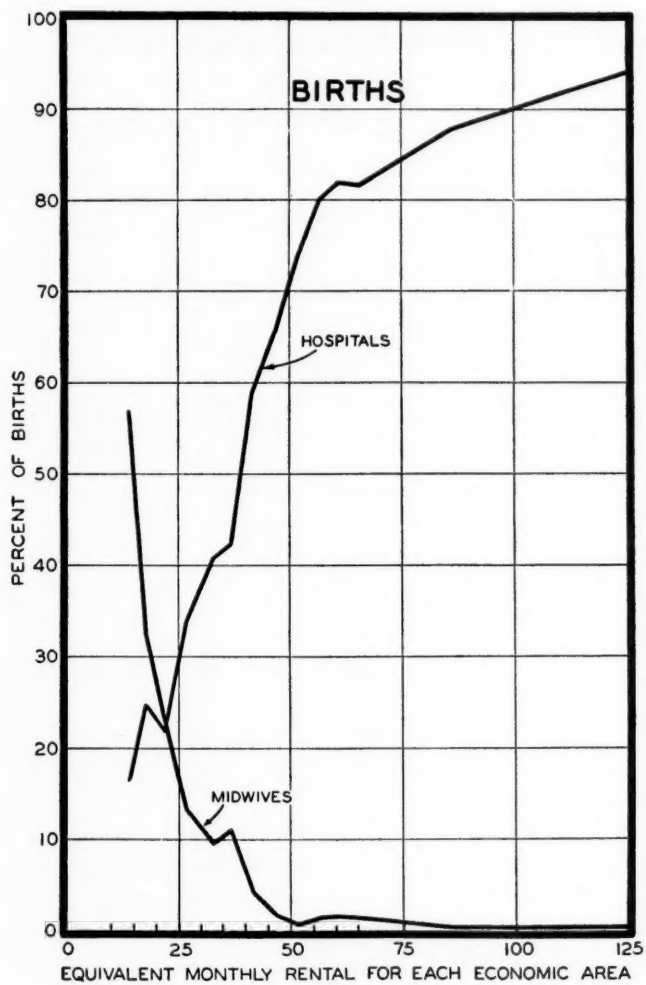


CHART III

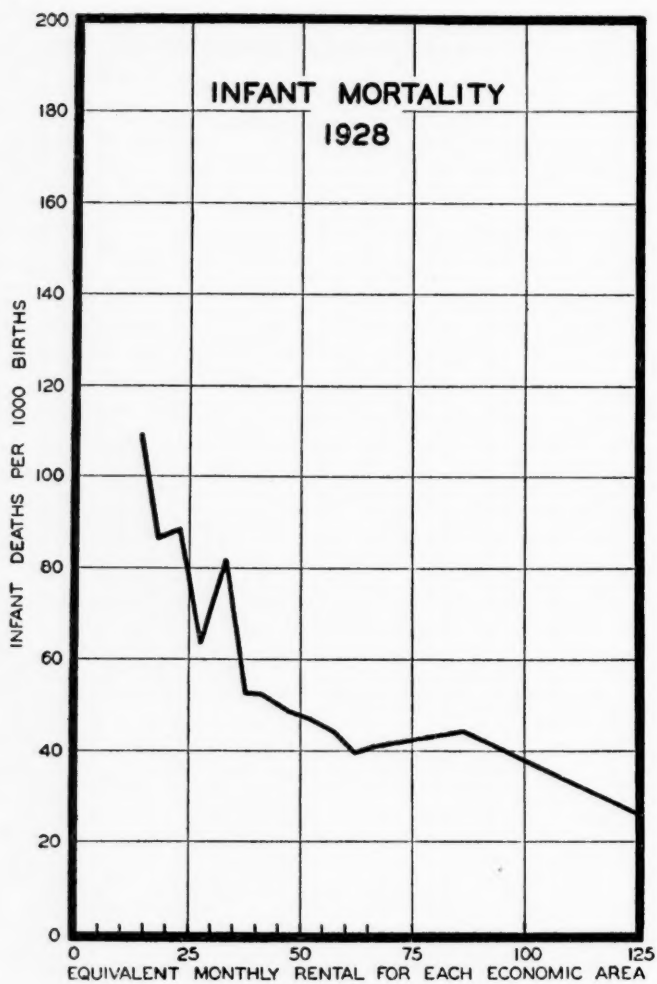
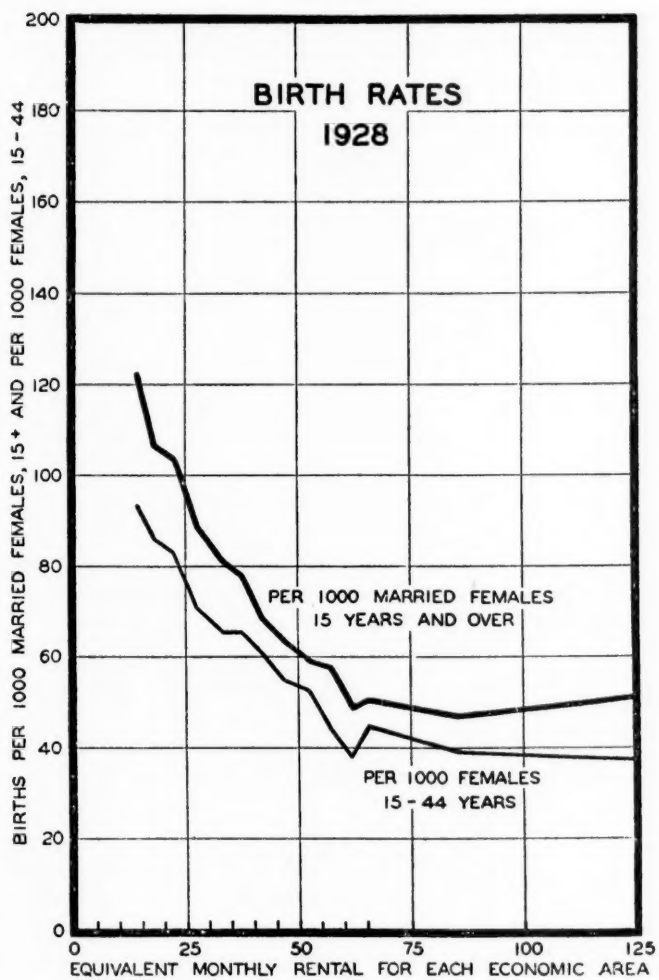


CHART IV



It was found that while such a percentage of all the births occurred in hospitals, only 16 per cent of those from the lowest economic area occurred in hospitals, while 94 per cent of those in the highest economic area occurred in hospitals, and that midwives delivered 57 per cent of those in the lowest economic area, and few in the high areas (see Chart II).

It was found that the infant mortality-rate varied enormously from economic area to economic area—that 110 babies died out of each 1,000 births in the lowest area and but 26 in the highest (see Chart III). Some may connect this variation to the type of delivery, but this should not be done. The fact of the matter is that there is little difference in the rate from economic area to economic area when calculated for the first month of life, the time when type of delivery would be reflected. The big variation is clearly shown to exist during the last eleven months of the first year of life—reflecting the care of the infant.

The birth-rates vary in a like manner. Thus, where many babies are likely to die, many babies are born (see Chart IV).

Those who can afford many babies have few; those who can afford little rent, few radios, telephones, automobiles, or anything else have many babies.

The total death-rate adjusted to the standard million of England and Wales of 1901, in order to eliminate differences in age and sex, varies from 15.0 deaths per 1,000 population in the lowest economic area to 7.4 in the highest. The curve descends sharply from the lowest economic area to the ninth just as the radio, telephone, and automobile curves increase sharply in these sections (see Chart V).

The tuberculosis death-rate for the white adjusted to the standard million varies from 127 in the lowest economic area to 19 in the highest (see Chart VI). The tuberculosis death-rate for the Negro adjusted to eliminate differences in age and sex, although five times as high as the white in each economic area, varies in a manner identical to the white. The case-rate for the white shows great differences among the economic areas. It varies from 710 in the lowest to 35 in the highest.

CHART V

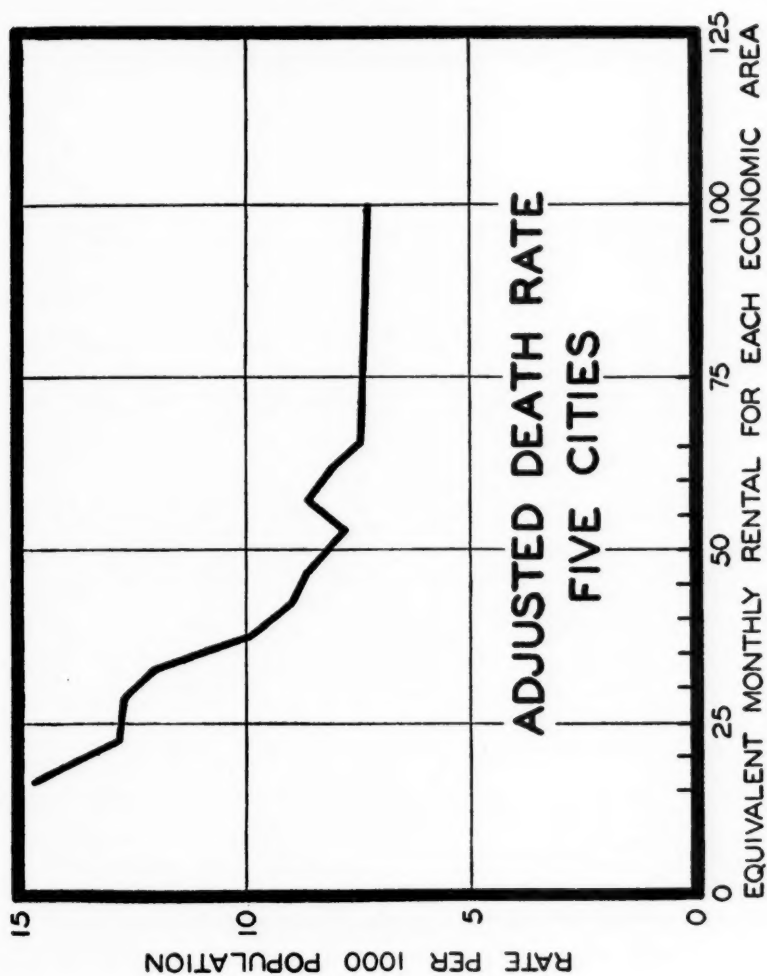


CHART VI

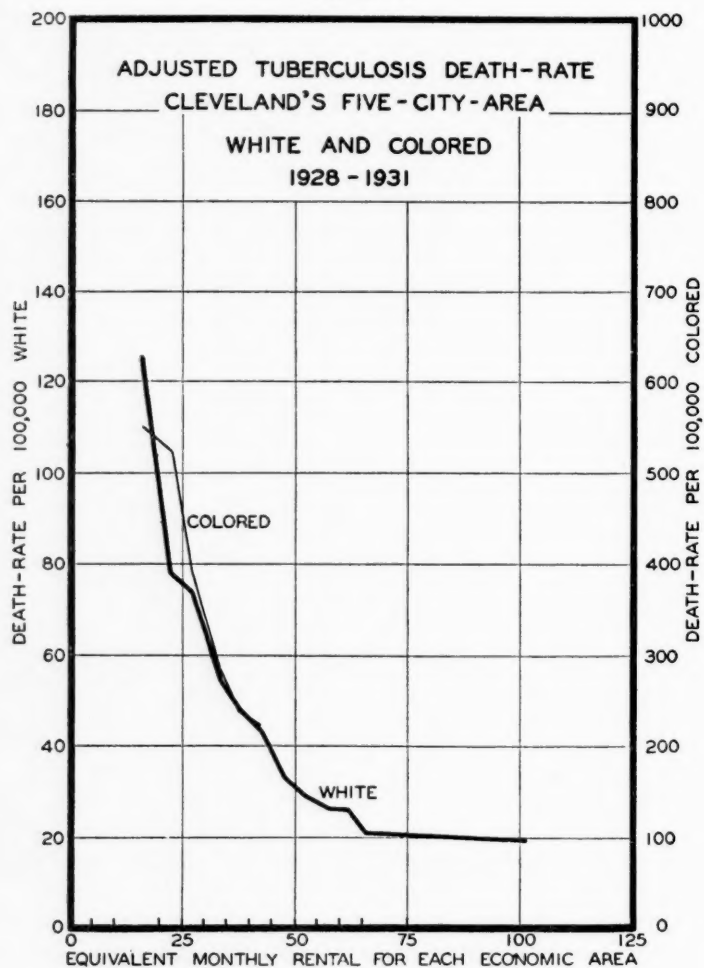


CHART VII

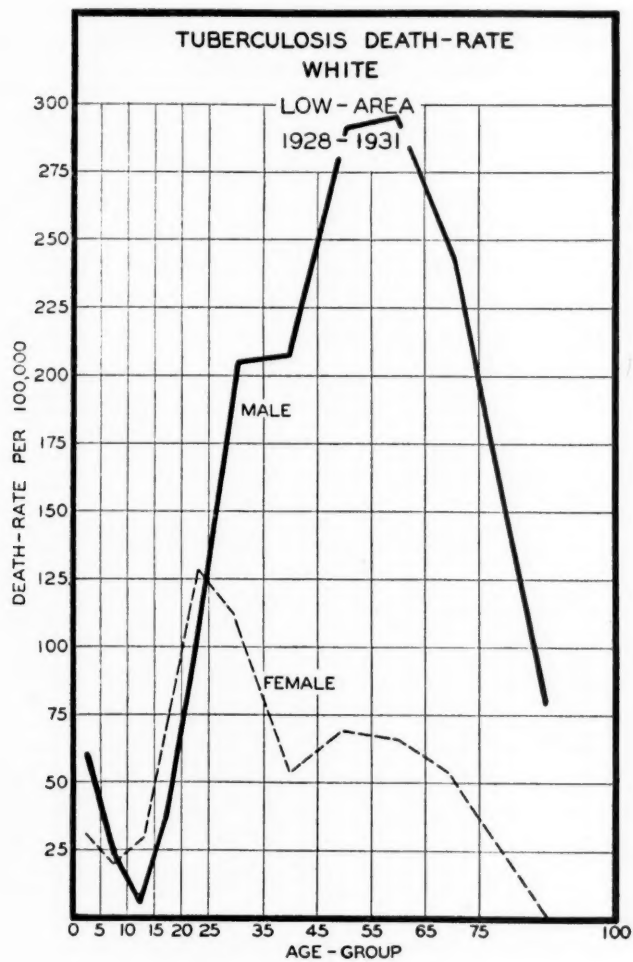
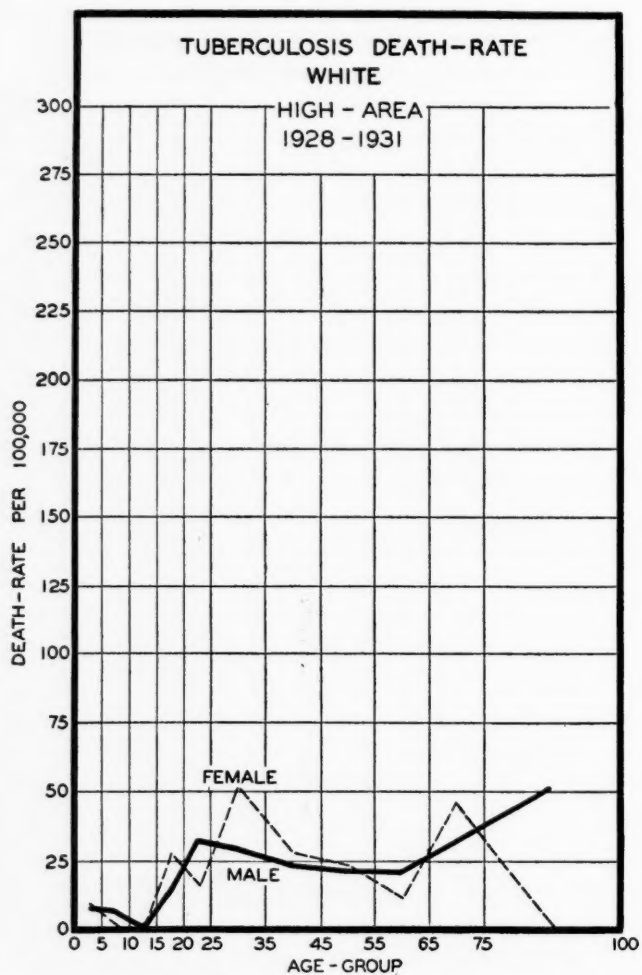


CHART VIII



And now an examination of the tuberculosis death-rate by age and sex and by economic status.

For this purpose let us consider two cities within the community. Each has 100,000 population, the one composed of census tracts having the lowest equivalent monthly rentals and the other composed of census tracts having the highest equivalent monthly rentals. The tuberculosis death-rate, white, by age and sex for the first—the low area—is shown on Chart VII.

The male rate is higher for the younger ages up to ten years, much lower for the ages ten to twenty-four, and a great deal higher in the older ages. For white males in the low area, the years between twenty-five and seventy-five are the serious years from the standpoint of the chances of dying from tuberculosis. For the white females the period between the fifteenth and the twenty-fifth year is the vital period.

The rates for the high area are shown on the same scale on Chart VIII.

Little differences occur between the sexes. The man between twenty-five and forty-five years of age is as free from tuberculosis as the woman.

Thus I have tried to illustrate the statistical method of analysis by the use of census tracts and economic status, using a single community—a people affected by identical climatic conditions, served by uniform health services, exposed to similar opportunities. I have handled over a million people in this way.

I submit this type of study in contrast to the clinical type in which a few hundred persons, or a few thousand at most, are analyzed. Each has its place. The latter involves old techniques; that which I have just presented involves new techniques, the future possibilities of which are hard even to imagine.

HEALTH INSURANCE

I. M. Rubinow, Secretary, B'Nai B'Rith, Cincinnati

HEALTH insurance is still the ideal of the future. There is reason for despair in the lack of progress made, in the tremendous waste of effort, in the collapse of a movement that at one time had seemingly captured the imagination of all progressive elements of the American people. There is, however, also a basis for hope because the movement has been revived and perhaps constructive action is on the horizon. In fact, considerable progress has again been made during the last five years in bringing the merits of health insurance to the attention of the American people. At any rate, the hope is not unreasonable that if we continue making progress soon we may be where we were in 1916.

Occasionally history does repeat itself; but even if it does there are usually some variations induced by changed conditions and environment. A flood of popular literature on health insurance is again arising in 1934 as there had been a similar flood from 1915 to about 1918. To some of us the new literature is largely but a tedious repetition. Perhaps new figures and illustrations are introduced. Substantially, however, the argument remains what it had been when the American Association for Labor Legislation published its first comprehensive brief for health insurance in 1916, when half-a-dozen state commissions were appointed, half-a-dozen elaborate state reports published, standard bills formulated, and the proposal was fought for in state legislatures, apparently with a fair chance of success if it had not been for the total collapse of all progressive movements as a result of the psychology of the war time and the even more reactionary psychology of the period of normalcy which followed. It was necessary then, and it is apparently again necessary now, to educate public opinion to certain more

or less obvious and fundamental truths. And such educational work is necessary during the preliminary stage of every important social reform. Public opinion has a short memory.

What is health insurance anyway, or accident insurance, or fire or life insurance, for that matter? By no manner of means can you offer any assurance to any individual that he will not suffer from an accident or illness or fire. You cannot assure him either his health or his life. Insurance is first, last, and all the time a financial mechanism. It is a method of compensation to the individual for losses—mostly unexpected losses—sustained. Fire insurance is only insurance against losses of property caused by fire. Health insurance, by the same token, is insurance against economic losses sustained as a result of illness, whether these losses be due to inability to perform one's task and earn a living or due to extraordinary costs incurred in the necessary process of re-establishment of health. If the question be seriously raised, as it is being raised in some quarters, as to whether we need health insurance or not, the same question might with equal justice be raised in dealing with every branch of insurance. Whether I am in need of burglary insurance or not will depend upon the amount of property I possess which is subject to burglary hazard. It will depend upon my ability to meet the loss without any serious handicap to my future well-being. If there were a million dollars' worth of guaranteed gilt-edged securities in my safety-deposit box it would obviously be unnecessary for me to carry a life insurance policy for protection of my widows and orphans unless, indeed, I had reason to have more faith in the solvency of the insurance company than that of the United States government.

Do we need health insurance? The answer to the question will necessarily depend upon who it is who happens to ask it. To some of us the possible loss of income resulting from an illness presents no serious danger or no danger whatsoever. Some of us—not very many to be sure—can contemplate even a substantial surgeon's fee without fear of bankruptcy. If we are within the group we do not need health insurance, but how

many of us are in that group? What economic status is implied for those who have a right to say "We, the people"?

In the enormous literature dealing with phenomena of social life, which is largely descriptive, historical, or speculative, there are, unfortunately, surprisingly few scientific laws or rules of causal relationship. But among those few there is none which could claim a greater scientific accuracy than the following: "Poverty causes ill health; ill health causes poverty."

It is not necessary to overstate the case. It is not claimed here that all ill health is due to poverty or that all poverty is due to ill health. We know the physical afflictions of the well-to-do. Epidemics are no respecters of the pocket-book or bank account, and there may be diseases due specifically to life made possible by excessive wealth. We know the fine physical specimens of humanity which may be found in the slums and in the gutter. Nevertheless the truth of the two generalizations cannot be gainsaid. What physician familiar with the life of the masses would fail to record the enormous amount of ill health due to unsatisfactory living conditions induced by poverty? What social worker has failed to record either in dry statistics or in human sob-sister stories the enormous amount of poverty due to physical inability to earn a living because of ill health? This is the first premise, the starting-point both of theoretical agitation and of practical experimentation with the sickness or health-insurance method.

And what is the second premise? That insurance is a way of meeting the economic problems arising out of the relationship between illness and poverty. That insurance is a practical method of breaking the vicious circle: "Poverty causes ill health; ill health causes poverty." Insurance is not a mysterious mechanism by means of which something is gotten out of nothing. Insurance means collective responsibility. Insurance means distribution of loss so that the possible unpredictable, excessive individual loss may be converted into a predictable, computable, limited collective cost. Long before actuaries had attacked the problem, perhaps long before there were such folks

as actuaries, masses of humanity, primarily the working masses, have applied this method by means of mutual-aid societies or friendly societies or fraternal orders, and whatever the designations may have been. And it is out of those simple and primitive efforts to substitute collective responsibility for individual misfortune, to create such a co-operative mechanism, to deal with individual needs, that the gigantic structure of health insurance as well as all other forms of social insurance has grown up practically throughout industrial Europe and many other industrial countries in other continents as well.

It is unnecessary as well as impossible to dwell here at any length on the development of the health-insurance movement during the last fifty years. The story has already been written up in dozens of books in this country during the last twenty years at least. The sort of a lesson one can draw from that story depends very much upon the sort of a lesson we want to draw from it. Such, indeed, is the perversity of human nature. But what are the obvious facts? Beginning by spontaneous efforts largely independent of each other in all European countries, the movement gained its first important victory in the early eighties through establishment of the German compulsory health-insurance system. It spread, as I have already pointed out, not only all over Europe but in many other countries as well. It has assumed either one or two forms, that of voluntary subsidized insurance and the compulsory contributory kind. The fundamental characteristic of the voluntary scheme is a more or less substantial subsidy from public resources, national or local, to the mutual health-insurance organizations. Compulsory health insurance forces part of the financial burden upon the state as well as the employer. Both obviously admit the grim fact that even in co-operation of groups the working masses are not in a position to bear the entire cost of sickness, treatment for sickness, and losses of earnings during the sickness. Several decades of growth have given to some European countries at least fairly comprehensive systems of voluntary subsidized health insurance. And yet at best they have left a

large proportion of the working masses unprotected and the extent of protection a very meager one. It was the recognition of this fact that has forced all of Europe to accept the compulsory principle after some two or three decades of stubborn opposition. Whatever the abstract arguments for or against compulsory health insurance may be, the fact has been definitely established that through this machinery tens of millions of workingmen and workingmen's families are at least to some extent protected against the destructive effects of illness in their daily life; that during the last fifty years tens of millions of workingmen and their families have been enabled to tide over the period of illness, have been enabled to get their necessary medical aid so that illness did not necessarily spell poverty and despair, did not call for appeal either to private charity or to public relief.

This being the incontrovertible historical background, one is justified in saying that the burden of proof today is not so much upon the advocate of health insurance in this country but in its opponents. It would seem to be up to them to prove beyond any shadow of doubt that conditions in this country are different, that there is less illness; that there is less poverty; that there is less poverty due to illness, that the American workmen do not need this particular mechanism in facing the problem of illness, the problem of cost of medical aid.

Thus stated, the case against health insurance in the United States becomes somewhat absurd, and yet it is exactly this line of argument that was made twenty years ago and is still being made today. It was this line of argument that called for the organization of the Committee on Cost of Medical Care, that required a library of statistical evidence to prove and demonstrate what has been proved and demonstrated in hundreds of similar studies in Europe, and what, after all, in the daily experience of every physician practicing among the masses and of every social worker requires no demonstration. Studies have been made, statistics compiled, and books and articles based upon these studies and statistics have been written to show what?

1. That the American workmen, like all other workmen, are subject to illness and usually to a greater extent than the more prosperous groups of society.

2. That many of them, while ill, are unable to work, and if unable to work do not earn any wages, and are financially embarrassed in hundreds of thousands of cases to the extent of being forced to apply for charitable aid.

3. That sick workmen, like all other sick people, need medical aid, which includes doctors, nurses, druggists, and hospitals and clinics and laboratories; that all these services and facilities are expensive and are becoming more and more expensive every day; and that the sick workman, often deprived of his earnings, is least able to pay for the services when he needs them most. Surely not much research is necessary to establish such obvious conclusions.

If, then, the case for health insurance is as simple and conclusive as it would appear to be, why has the United States remained the only industrial country in the world that has failed to adopt it? We are apparently dealing here with the important and significant historic facts which must not be explained away by merely facetious generalizations. There must have been significant social, economic, or psychological causes. Compulsory insurance obviously requires the acceptance of a concept of the state as something more than merely a glorified policeman. It requires a sense of social solidarity, perhaps group or class solidarity, which was slowly developing in a country with an unlimited frontier, unlimited economic possibilities, and resulting rugged individualism. These real differences in economic structure of new American society as against old Europe have largely if not entirely been swept away. The intellectual and emotional lag has retained up to today social concepts based upon economics of a half-century ago. It is because of this social lag that certain minor group interests have proved to be sufficiently strong to offer resistance to a measure which economic conditions apparently make necessary. The small but influential employers group does not need or want health insurance, and objects to it for the simple and very real reason that it presup-

poses a charge upon cost of operation and upon profits resulting from such industrial operations. Whatever the ethical, social, or moral arguments emanating from that group and their representatives may be, they are only thinly disguised rationalizations of a taxpayer unwilling to pay his tax. Millions of workmen found it difficult to accept proposals for health insurance because it meant an obligatory deduction from their wages. It mattered little that the sums so deducted, plus contributions from the employer and the state, would return entirely to the workman and his family when sick. The American workman, so recently separated from his independent existence, had not yet lost his gambling spirit. He was willing to face the uncertain loss rather than to pay the certain cost.

Private insurance interests stubbornly and effectively fought and successfully killed the health-insurance movement some fifteen years ago with the use of all kinds of political, moral, and social arguments, but all of them were merely tools for the protection of the vested interests of the insurance companies in every form of insurance and profits which may be derived therefrom.

The medical profession, 150,000 of them, claiming to be the guardians of the American people, have nevertheless opposed health insurance for twenty years because of their fears—real or apparent—that it might limit if not altogether destroy the system of private practice which is the economic basis of their existence. What greater evidence can there be of the real need for health insurance than the fact that in face of all these opposing forces, in face even of much more immediate and evident difficulties such as appalling extent of unemployment, health insurance has again forced itself to the foreground.

The present health-insurance movement in the United States is not, however, a mere repetition of the earlier movement of twenty years ago. Very definitely it has been stimulated by the report of the Committee on Cost of Medical Care which produced something of a sensation, at least in the limited circles of the medical profession, less than two years ago. When the Com-

mittee was organized in 1927 or thereabouts, with a comprehensive five-year program of research, there was considerable irritation within the small group of the remaining faithful guard of health-insurance advocates. The case for health insurance appeared so very clear and obvious at least to them. Ten years have passed since it had been chloroformed into inactivity by the combined opposition of the employers, insurance companies, and the medical fraternity; and a five-year research plan looked like an unnecessary delay when an active revival of the movement was needed. Even more objection was found with a definite limitation of the Committee's program. Deliberately it limited itself to the study of costs of ill health to the exclusion of losses due to ill health. The personnel was quite obviously overloaded with representatives of the medical professions, as if a movement concerned with the health and well-being of the entire people and dealing with elimination of one of the most important factors of poverty could safely be intrusted to one professional group which, until then, not only in this country but in many other lands, had displayed a great deal of resistance and some lack of understanding.

The results of the Committee's labors, recently published, at least partly justified both the fears and the hopes of the advocates. A good deal of material was collected, but certainly no unanimity of conclusion was arrived at. It is no secret that in drawing conclusions from the material collected the active research workers did not at all see things eye to eye with the impressive and influential Committee. As one wanders in the maze of majority and minority reports, individual dissenting opinions, and numerous footnotes at the bottom of the page modifying the conclusions at the top, it is somewhat difficult to say what the conclusions of the Committee were. Nevertheless, taken as a whole, the work of the Committee has proved to be a potent influence in present-day American thinking on the subject. More than that, it has apparently stimulated not only plans but certain definite lines of action. Whether one agrees or disagrees, and whatever part of the report one may select as a

starting-point for an argument, one thing is certain—that the report must be reckoned with. What are its distinctive, significant characteristics?

The first is a definite cleavage established or to be established between medical costs and sickness losses. That both are important aspects of the problem is obvious. A committee, preponderantly medical, had the right to select only one of those two aspects as its main problem. There were reasons for that. The rapidly growing costs of medical aid and hospital care in the United States during the years of prosperity became a problem not only for the working masses but even for the middle classes up to a fairly high limit of income. In fact, it was this protest of the middle classes against high medical fees, high hospital costs, high cost of babies, so that one might say they had to be bought on the instalment plan, that was particularly articulate. The people who complained could speak and write intelligently and entertainingly on the subject. A reference to the *Readers' Guide* for these years will disclose a vast literature and also a growing irritation between the intelligent consumer of medical aid and the medical profession. Thus the drive for reorganization of the system of medical aid, perhaps for the reduction of its cost and its better distribution, became largely a middle-class movement. Unless that is understood, the difference between the health-insurance movement of twenty years ago and of today cannot be understood. The middle-class man, the small business man, or even the white-collar employee is often so situated that he does not feel the immediate effect of illness on his pay envelope. The small business does not close. The professional man may make some arrangements about continuing his practice. The white-collar man's salary usually goes on uninterrupted, at least in a case of illness of a moderate duration. Also the savings of these groups are somewhat more substantial than those of the working masses. All of which explains the recent emphasis placed upon the cost of medical care as against the loss of earnings in causing need and distress.

At the same time the workingman and his family, needing

medical aid in case of illness just as much—needing, of course, an equally high quality of medical aid—is not equally affected by medical costs. He is less averse to utilizing existing free medical facilities. His doctor has not raised his fees to the same degree. He does not resent the free clinic, the free or cheap ward bed. He is less familiar with the latest frills, fads, and fancies, being less inclined to read the flood of popular medical literature. He and his wife do know, however, what a missing pay envelope may mean in the normal existence of the household.

The old term "health insurance" is again being used, but very frequently with a different content, being largely limited to what might be designated as medical insurance or insurance against costs of medical aid. Twenty years ago the organization of medical aid under a system of health insurance was only a part of the problem, an important part to be sure, and a baffling part, presenting many organizational difficulties. Today it threatens to become the whole essence of the problem, with the result that again a new versus situation is being created. Such thorough students of health insurance and medical organization as my good friend Dr. Michael M. Davis are inclined to advocate this medical insurance as against mere insurance of the wage loss. The tremendous importance of medical care as a preventive measure is being emphasized, but an old warrior for social insurance in this country naturally becomes very apprehensive when facing a new artificial versus situation. Accident prevention versus compensation was used as a method of resistance to compensation. Stabilization of industry versus the dole is now the cry of those who want to resist unemployment insurance. Within our own days, private philanthropy versus public relief, local action versus national appropriations, work relief versus the dole, were all playing the part of monkey wrenches thrown into the engine. One wants to hope that this new unnecessary either/or situation will not prove a handicap to a healthy health-insurance movement. Obviously fifty years of experience throughout Europe have proved the importance of meeting both the losses and the costs.

There are two very specific practical consequences which we already have to face in this country as a result of this artificial versus situation.

On one hand, it is argued that the cost of medical care, being largely a medical and hygienic problem, must be entirely under medical control, that the wage loss resulting from illness is merely an economic problem, that therefore these two aspects of health insurance must be kept distinct and apart, that the loss of wages from illness is no different than the loss of wages from unemployment. Within the last few weeks so competent a student as Dr. Sydenstricker suggested even that insurance against the wage loss might be safely left to private insurance companies. This is evidence as to how dangerous is the preoccupation with only one aspect of a complicated problem. At one stroke it is proposed that fifty years of experience in insurance be swept away by admitting private commercial interests into the field of social insurance.

The second threatening danger of this separation is a very subtle one. Throughout European experience health insurance has been a part of social insurance, which has been largely a new label for the old workingmen's insurance movement. When health insurance is spoken of, usually a legal system embracing the entire working mass with wage collections and in most cases with compulsion is thought of. But the problem of high cost and better organization of medical aid—undoubtedly a very serious problem in the life of the entire community—the problem of better utilization of the million and a half persons which constitute the army which is to keep us well, that is a problem for the entire population and has already pointed out a very acute problem for the middle classes. Now it is extremely difficult to devise a system of compulsory insurance by law for any group which is not subject to a salary or wage contract. On the other hand, whatever resistance the medical profession has shown everywhere to health insurance for working masses is multiplied a hundred fold as soon as the whole field of private practice among the more prosperous is touched. The extreme

bitterness of the American Medical Association against all the conclusions of the Committee on Cost of Medical Aid is explained by these considerations. That bitterness could not be matched in all of European experience.

It is quite true that gradually recognition is gaining ground among many medical groups throughout the country that something must be done to prevent costs of serious illness from becoming ruinous even to the more prosperous patients. There are various experiments for group practice, voluntary group medical insurance, special arrangements for hospital costs, etc. An account of these experiments presents a very interesting picture. Unfortunately all European experience with voluntary forms of insurance gives little hope of their efficiency to meet a mass problem unless, indeed, these voluntary efforts are supported by very substantial governmental subventions. It would, indeed, be a great pity if after twenty years of waiting and after some five or ten years of study the mirage of voluntary insurance be allowed to serve as a red herring across the path toward some comprehensive and effective system on standardized lines. From the point of view of the preservation of the health of the American people, there is no question but that the problem of better organization of medical aid, of better utilization of medical facilities, and of better distribution of its cost is a very important one. And yet one might almost say that it is a problem of its own and that the problem of health insurance for the masses should not be sacrificed to it.

Undoubtedly, the future will bring very significant changes in the organization of the medical profession. Its amazing scientific progress has not been accompanied as yet by corresponding changes in its economic organization. Whether it be voluntary insurance or hospital insurance or perhaps socialization of medical aid, as advocated by a growing number within as well as outside of the profession, it is difficult to say. Perhaps we are facing an entirely new deal in the relations between the medical profession and the American people, but at best professional standards and traditions are not subject to instantaneous

changes. Yet the problem of the vicious circle, of the relationship between poverty and health, must not be made to wait for its solution upon these uncertain changes. After all, the question of better organization of medical aid has been, and is, a part of the problem of accident compensation. It is still a bone of contention between employers, injured employees, insurance organizations, and the medical profession. But compensation legislation did not wait. The problems may be solved perhaps better after legislation has been adopted. My plea is simply that we do not allow these complicated problems of group interests to stand in the way of a social measure which the experience of the entire industrial world has amply proved to be necessary and useful.

CASE-WORK RESPONSIBILITY IN THE UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF AGENCY

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MY TITLE seems to imply in what ways relief administration uses characteristic emphases from case-work development. That is to say, what case-work concepts or techniques are being carried over into the practice of our public welfare agencies in their current expansion.

During the war we had a similar period of rapid expansion on a national scale in the American Red Cross when the federal government suddenly took over a major "relief" service, although it was called, in deference to prevailing attitudes toward relief, "allowance," and in the Home Service, "loans and grants." The period was similar in that the federal government had entered the arena, that a very large number of persons in all walks of life were affected, that there was a concerted attempt to make relief respectable, and that a high proportion of private-agency personnel was drained off into the new Home Service.

Excerpts from the first American Red Cross manual of Home Service, written largely by Mary Richmond and published in July, 1917, key the times for us:

It is generally felt that upon the federal government should fall the chief responsibility for making financial provision for the families of the enlisted men. . . . Whatever financial assistance the Red Cross chapters will be called upon to supply to the families of those in service, it is to be hoped that it will be merely supplementary to the just payment provided by the government.

The case work of the last century had tended to stress the idea that adequate social services should diminish the need for relief. The case work in the first decades of the century had begun to develop the idea that relief was more effective if supported by the social services.

More frequent and more important than this financial relief for the Red Cross will be the home service of helping families to maintain their standards of health, education and industry. This service should be democratic, constructive and resourceful. It is not to be thrust upon those who can do without it and it is to be given in a spirit of fraternal and thoroughgoing helpfulness to those who cannot.

It was here assumed that relief in a quasi-governmental agency should be accompanied by the best social services of which the field was then capable. In this same manual is one of the first references in which the phrase "adequate relief" is used. Under a caption, "What Is Adequate Relief?" the manual states:

The items of expenditure to be covered in figuring a family budget include rent, food, heat, light, clothing, spending money for those that work, carfare, insurance, and household incidentals. To these would have to be added special items for families which have members in need of special care or special diet.

Remembering the fact that the men whose families were being cared for had made allotment of their pay, nevertheless there is something ironic in that adequate relief was undertaken readily for the families of soldiers, but that the struggle has been so severe to get even the idea of adequate relief supported for the families of the unemployed. In discussing the case-work content in unemployment relief today, we must ask ourselves how far this idea of adequacy has penetrated and what interpretations have been made of service. For it is clear that by 1917 case work was prepared to say that relief should be adequate and that services should accompany relief if needed.

It is true that few agencies, whether public or private, have been able to sustain the principle of adequacy in good times and bad. Under depression mothers' allowances waver, appropriations shrink, private agencies with ordinarily quite adequate relief allowances drop to the subsistence level and below, and even with the federal government coming into the picture adequate relief has not been realized. The range of home relief has been from \$5.50 a month in New Mexico to \$45.51 in New York, and expenditures by temporary relief agencies have tend-

ed to depress the levels for other forms of relief. Rents in most communities have been paid sparingly if at all, and the prevailing mode for relief has been that of relief in kind rather than cash, and the level that of bare subsistence.

On the other hand, there have been certain high notes in the program of the C.W.A. and even of work relief in which income has approached levels of decent living and has had the least stigma with the greatest amount of self-directing activity on the part of the recipient of aid. Just as the concept of adequacy, even though seldom realized in fact, has gained ground, so we can also be sure that the notion of stigma has receded. Sometimes I am afraid it has not receded but merely that we, as someone said of Gertrude Stein, "use all the best words" about it. I merely would claim that some headway has been made against the need to attach stigma to relief-giving. The old ideology made even some social workers try to isolate a "white-collar class," the thought being that these clients were too good for ordinary social agencies rather than that we should make ordinary social agencies decent for everyone.

It is not adequate relief which pauperizes, yet in any relief population there will be a percentage of persons with a marked trend to dependency and even parasitism. But we must deal with this sensibly just as we recognize the 4 or 5 per cent of feeble-minded in any community. One form of control lies in an efficient system of labor and employment exchanges. The emphasis should, of course, be on research, prevention, re-employment, and social change and not on discipline or unpleasantness. A second important control lies in case-work emphasis. The concepts of privacy, frankness, and the attempt to remove stigma from the whole relief situation, as we are trying to remove it in social work from the illegitimate child for instance, are bringing humanness and decency into the picture. Case-workers in the public agencies have thrown their influence into making the application for relief as bearable as possible, philosophically because they do not believe in the principle of deterrence but rather of adequacy, and technically through certain practices.

Since 1917 we have learned a good deal about relief administration. Money is a fairly late invention in human intercourse, and we do not seem to have solved the problem of the control of it either in the world at large or in the handling of relief. It is only the amateur in relief who thinks that giving it is a simple matter. Case work has, however, affected relief administration in the physical handling of clients, in the application process, in the establishing of eligibility, in follow-up service, and in our attitude toward the behavior of clients.

Case-work practice tries to achieve privacy through waiting-rooms arranged to protect the applicant from curious gazers or listeners. Although pressure of numbers rarely permits ideal conditions, we do find offices in which there are seats for the applicants, interviewing desks out of earshot, and occasionally separate rooms. We are beginning to have trained social workers to help the client, explaining the purpose and requirements of the relief procedure and taking throughout an attitude that is frank and business-like. In the intake process we have learned to distinguish between registration which can be done by a clerk and the intake interview itself, which in professional hands stresses some of the following points: The case-worker lets the client tell his own story and describe his own situation to a sympathetic person who respects his individual problem and his "differences," to use Miss Robinson's word.¹ The case-worker asks relevant questions which will tend to clarify the situation and show where the greatest stresses lie.

The case-worker helps both to define and to understand the problem, and also notes the client's capacity to deal with his reality situation. Every intake worker knows that there is the greatest range in ability and emotional capacity to discuss needs. The worker may also ask questions as to how the client has managed, what his work history has been, and what resources he has already tapped—questions growing out of listening attentively to the client's story, not routine ones from an outline. These questions not only reveal how urgently relief may be

¹ Virginia Robinson, *A Changing Psychology in Social Case Work*.

needed but also gauge the client's ability to face his own problem and what parts of it he is prepared to handle. By asking him what he expects to do about it and what he wants us to do about it, by letting him suggest his own references, and by taking him in frankly on the next steps in the eligibility procedure, we enable the applicant to retain his self-respect.

Into the case-work relationship is brought the principle of client activity and self-help rather than either lecture or humiliation through talking his problem over. The problem is not wholly his because it is society's responsibility, but it is not wholly the agency's either, and a healthier relationship exists when it is recognized that the client has a right not only to relief if he needs it, but, more important, a right to handle his own problem in relief. The untrained worker tends to accept the relief situation as static and to offer praise, pity, or blame to the client; the trained worker accepts the client as he is, thus leaving him free to deal with his situation in so far as he can. Untrained workers frequently make the mistake of assuming that because the client has taken the "last resort" of coming to the office, he can do nothing more for himself. They reassure, they pat him on the back, they promise relief before he has stated his case; in the kindest way they put him in a psychological bread-line. The sensitive case-worker, although in general following the principle of "client activity," knows when to abandon it for the very ill, or ignorant, or inarticulate. There are not many emergencies even in home relief, but when there are the worker must be as quick as an ambulance surgeon.

The chief points in further establishing eligibility lie in straight-forward explanation of the purpose of investigation and continuing to elicit as much client participation as possible. In private social case work there is a little more flexibility in the home visit and the time and place of other study which permits one to await invitation, although the suggestion can be stimulated by the worker, from the client for most steps. In public forms of case work, because of pressure of time, the best substitute is an objective, business-like explanation of the next steps

to be taken together. The use of collaterals has become more selective. The home visit, employment references, bank clearings, the use of records and documents through explanation and participation, can be made reasonably acceptable to the average client. The thoughtful, selective use of relatives as sources of information or contribution takes some of the tension out of investigation. We do not absolutely have to be bound by his wishes, but we can consult him and respect his feelings about relatives as much as possible.

One interesting contribution which case work makes to relief administration is in its approach to the attitudes of the clients. The untrained official is likely to respond to attitudes with "Nice woman; is always grateful for groceries"; "Just a Wop; always asking for something"; "He is nothing but a beggar," etc. In a case record as late as 1929 we find this entry from a public agency of good standards: "Is of the fawning, ingratiating type, making a good show of servility and kissing the hand of anyone from whom she is seeking favors. She is most emotional, crying easily and copiously without sufficient cause." This critical reaction is not confined to public agencies, but in the twenties case work was just beginning to assimilate a clinical instead of a moralistic attitude toward behavior. In the newer concept, furthered by the mental-hygiene movement, attitudes began to take on for us the significance of defining the problem. First we thought we could control attitudes, and then we thought we could change them by removing their "causes," and now we realize that they are a primary concern in themselves. This is true of relief attitudes, just as of "behavior" in child-guidance work. If the client is ashamed or has grievances, we neither blame him nor attempt to disarm him, but accept these attitudes as part of the total problem. They help us to gauge, in fact, his capacity for handling his problem, and it is not always the pleasant attitudes which are the most helpful. Why should he not resent unemployment and frustration and unreasonable hardship? And if he projects his resentment on us, why we have learned to understand that too.

We are no doubt ready to agree that the agency equipped to use the principles of case work already described is giving a professional service. Sometimes this is all the case work required, but relief is likely to be more constructive and economical if other service and resources are available as well. Much public welfare is of the maintenance type, philosophically because the public is the primary agency for the care of its citizens, and practically because no private agency can afford large budgets. When the failure in family maintenance is due to such factors as unemployment, acute illness, industrial accident or disease, old age, or the death of the breadwinner, we think of a comprehensive system of allowances under public auspices to meet these needs. Unemployment insurance, health insurance, workmen's compensation, old-age relief, mothers' aid, and home relief are all devices which we either have or are trying to put on our statute-books. Re-employment, also under public auspices, is a natural corollary with such health care and vocational guidance as tend to keep the family life normal and the people employable. These are not remote ideals; they are indispensable and imperative ethics in our present system.

The family on maintenance relief may require, besides actual income, insurance adjustment, advice on home-owning or small businesses, health care, advice on home management, nutrition, purchasing, recreation, and child-rearing. As in 1917, we know that services should not be flung at the client, still less choked down his throat, but in maintenance cases with continuous bi-weekly or monthly contacts the worker finds innumerable opportunities to offer service. The worker must know community resources, hygiene, housing, home economics, and re-employment facilities, and if he has anything of the educator in him his time will be fully occupied.

All good public welfare departments are trying to achieve sufficiently well-trained staffs for these levels of case work which are the levels generally achieved by the private family societies in the ten years before the depression. In taking over workers from the private field and adding such knowledge of supervision

as has been gained in mothers' allowance throughout the country, public agencies are becoming equipped to give appropriate case work.

Meanwhile the private agency will be more concerned with that phase of family life in which personality difficulties are involved and in which relief may be used as "a tool in treatment."² A specialization popularly called "social therapy" is beginning to emerge, comparable in its strength and importance with the technique of relief administration. Family case work has within its area not only the function of relief administration and maintenance with their appropriate services but also family behavior problems, desertion, non-support, neglect and rejection of children, unmarried mothers in their first pregnancy, inability to deal with shock, loss, illness, or bereavement, the function being one of guidance or treatment rather than maintenance. The public agency does, with concepts of objectivity, "client activity," etc., use some principles of "relationship" but has not usually the opportunity or equipment for intensive development along these lines.

Although the family is the "unit of work" theoretically for most forms of case work, the family is actually the background for work with individual clients except in the function of maintenance. In maintenance the family is peculiarly unified, the income of all members must be budgeted and interrelated; supervisory features are uppermost; all children must be nourished; all health problems met; all physical defects corrected; all should have a decent house to live in; all should have regular meals and sleep and time for recreation; and a good deal of responsibility is assumed by the agency. But in family treatment the patient must be treated individually; each may absorb a considerable amount of time and his unlikeness from the group has to be observed. The person socially ill and inadequate becomes the unit of work in a quite different sense from that when the normal family is being maintained through income.

The relief agency should perhaps guard itself against a too

² Grace Marcus, *Some Aspects of Relief in Family Case Work*.

facile attitude of mass responsibility. "Now that we have all the money," it may say, "we will carry the whole case-work program." Although any agency setting out to do case work should be able, in the sense of being equipped, to do a complete case-work job, most agencies do not attempt this complete job because of lack of time or interest in one set of functions or administrative restrictions. It was not an accident that social work adopted the word "co-operation" for its own. Tensions we have had, and possessiveness, and false pride, but at our professional best we have had interchange, interaction, conference, mutual aid, and community planning. The newer public agencies, like other social agencies, come not to swallow the community but to serve it, and to plan with it, and to assume leadership in certain phases of its undertakings.

One special problem must be undertaken by the public agency. In the relief population there will be cases of "refusal to work." How much these clients have been incapacitated by the prolonged unemployment situation, and how much this is a form of neurotic dependency, we do not know. Dependency, like illness, has its forms of gratification. In studying this group we shall have to subtract the chronically ill, the industrially aged or handicapped, and also displaced industrial workers in mining towns and other areas. With any sort of favorable environment most people try to get back to work. In the British unemployment-insurance system "malingering" has never proved quantitatively significant. We do not believe that relief in itself pauperizes, but we must face the fact that we have in our relief population the dependent and the antisocial client. The social side of "refusal to work" is that relief, even though not adequate, may in fact be equal to, or above, the wage level. When this is true, clients will not make great efforts to get off relief. The answer clearly is not to depress relief below subsistence but to try to raise the wage level. It is tolerable to keep relief below wages only if wages themselves provide a decent standard of living. Case work has learned in the past that the threat of withdrawing relief is rarely effective. Social control is

not possible without decent wages and working conditions—without an adequate system of insurances and labor exchanges, on the one hand, and a trained staff to study the chronic dependent and find appropriate treatment, on the other. We must never lose sight of the social pathology that underlies our having veterans, chronic dependents, and the unemployed. Wars precede veterans and economic insecurity, doles. Even though the principle of adequacy has been adopted in social work, even though stigma has been reduced, even though skill in the handling of relief has tended to make it less painful and the development of social services offers better facilities to families, the problem of that percentage which remains on relief confronts us. It will take all the brains we have to find controls for this economic disease in which we have either sick persons or sick society. If we have accepted the practice of studying the dependent person rather than of blaming him, and of working to get wages up rather than forcing relief down; if we are willing to explore causal relationships in poverty as well as the all too obvious end results, our public welfare, like our public health, will make a magnificent contribution.

CASE-WORK OBJECTIVES—ACHIEVED IN VOLUME

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WHILE the private agency may choose from those who apply according to the funds and services it has to offer, the public agency, as adequately as it may, must meet the need of all not legally disqualified who come to its doors. The primary function of the public agency is that of relief, given in manner and kind that will contribute to the client's security, maintain his social status, and not impair his powers of self-determination.

Assuming that there are funds at least for elementary needs, the task of their proper administration confronts us. The first question, then, is: What type of person should be selected to distribute these funds with which we have been intrusted?

I am sure we agree that the keystone of proper administration is *personnel*—adequate in number and in equipment—in other words, experienced social workers; not only to determine who is in need and what he needs, but to render the necessary accompanying service without which relief will fall short of its fullest accomplishment. The supply of social workers, however, lags woefully behind our needs. As agencies must be manned, many communities have perforce built up their staffs with case aides—educated young men and women, preferably those who have majored in the social sciences and have had experience related to that required in the position they wish to fill. While practical experience is being acquired by those workers, we are faced, then, with the problem of relating the work to be done by them to their capacities—by the use of many modifications of the older, generally accepted case-work practices.

Flooded with the first onrush of a large-scale unemployment,

private agencies tried to maintain the same type of service that they had given when their workers were carrying limited loads. When these cases were turned over to the public agency, the natural procedure was to continue methods that had been proved good under different conditions. In many places, however, this has not been found possible, or perhaps desirable. Procedures that are new or are variations of the old are being developed because of heavy case loads, and not necessarily because of differences inherent in the public agency.

Granted a staff numerically inadequate and with uneven professional experience, how can we approximate the case work that is the goal alike of the good public or private agency?

First, we recognize a difference in family situations and plan that a number of workers who are equipped to do skilled case work have comparatively small loads. To these workers are referred those situations where, in the first interview or in later contacts, the clients reveal the desire for help in working out their personal relationships.

To those who will not desire or need this type of service, administration of relief should be "on a formal basis much akin to that of social insurance. The dignity of this group can best be conserved by an objective determination of eligibility, according to criteria of need previously determined (and the granting of relief in definite uniform proportions according to such eligibility)."

Classification of case loads, however, is only a beginning in our attempts at carrying the loads present-day conditions require. So let us look for help first to those we are serving. We have a new clientèle—one with very real powers of self-help. Should we not permit a full use of these powers (as consistent with our function) to keep the client moving in his own behalf, not only in order to utilize his self-direction and resourcefulness, but also in order to relieve the overburdened staff of all unnecessary tasks?

One of the ways of utilizing the client's ability is to arrange for him to assist in establishing his own eligibility for the relief

he is requesting. When he fills out an application blank, containing identifying and verifiable material (taking it home, if he wishes, to make sure of birth and marriage dates and similar facts), he is doing what many of us do in entering into business relationships with our banks or department stores. In the client's thinking, the procedure is usually accepted as a dignified, objective, participating relationship. He should accept it as good business, a formality connected with the dispensing of public funds provided by the taxpayer.

Further activity of the client in his own behalf may be directed to securing facts regarding previous employment, membership in organizations, property and insurance, birth and marriage, and citizenship papers. He may look for the new flat when moving is planned; and secure comparative prices on household supplies or needs, or of medical prescriptions.

Recognizing that adequate knowledge on these varied problems is too much to expect of any but an experienced worker, specialized services have been established in many agencies; these services are performed by professional and business young men and women and have to do with (1) the client's vocation and plans for his re-employment; (2) adjustments of his insurance; (3) property he may hold; (4) the occasional small business; and (5) the client's medical and nutritional needs.

Vocational.—The re-employment of the working members of the families under care is the most obvious service that lends itself to specialization. A vocational department insures a smooth and proper assignment of client workers to any work project that offers, centralizes consultation with employers, knows the special type of workmen available, and participates intelligently in plans for local work projects. The vocational adviser's duties include (a) holding what is called a vocational interview with the employable members of the families on relief; (b) consulting previous employers and unions; (c) classifying workers according to vocations, trades, or professions, and also under previous employers (198 major classifications, 375 sub-classifications of types of employment); and (d) after consulta-

tion with the case-worker, assigning clients to work opportunities (regular employment, C.W.A., or work relief).

Card indices which seem somewhat elaborated sometimes justify themselves unexpectedly. When the conditions of the N.R.A. were being inaugurated, a large meat-packing firm asked for the names of all their former employees on relief; the classified employers' file gave them a complete list overnight. That not meeting their need for workmen, the occupational index yielded the names of all the butchers, meat-cutters, and sausage-stuffers on relief, all of whom were then employed by this company. A vigorous and well-organized public employment service in a community will take over many of these activities, and sound planning should be to that end.

Insurance.—Adjustments of the varied insurance policies that are brought to us is a business in itself and are made only after consultation with the Life Insurance Adjustment Bureau. First the listing and then the analysis of the policies—then the recommendations that follow consultation with the case-worker, in which the family situation is considered and plans determined upon which offer the family a maximum of protection with a reasonable carrying charge. Loans may be secured or policies surrendered outright. Many lapsed policies exhumed from the bottom of the trunk and brought trustingly for the first disinterested advice ever offered to the client have yielded substantial sums to the owners.

Such general practices as the following should be followed in insurance adjustments: Leave the family with insurance (*a*) to provide for a simple burial; (*b*) with not more premiums than the future earning power of the father can care for with justice to the other needs of the family. Keep the parents of minor children insured. Do not reduce insurance on the acutely or chronically ill, or on persons over fifty-five years of age.

It is a business in itself and one that has placed \$1,110,180 into the pockets of our troubled clients in a single year (1933) in Chicago alone, has left insurance on every member of the family that originally had insurance, and often has taken out new insurance on family heads.

Property.—Another part of the case-worker's duties may very well be concentrated in the hands of some person especially well fitted to the task because of a background of legal training and knowledge of real estate procedures or of investment securities. The property adviser has an interesting list of duties.

He analyzes all the holdings of the client; checks court records and interprets his findings to the client to enable him to understand his rights and obligations concerning his holdings; assists him in securing loans on his property; investigates estates in the probate court; through the use of client-landlord file, places clients in the flats of property-owners receiving relief; verifies bank accounts; and follows the payments of closed banks where clients have had accounts. Plans are made and advice given the client only after consultation with the case-worker, who has received full reports on the findings of the property adviser.

Small trades.—An outgrowth of the property service is that of the special worker whose case load is made up of small tradesmen defined as "persons having a definite place of business, who have formerly supported their families from the proceeds of this business, and owners of horse and wagon with all necessary licenses and owners of trucks with necessary licenses." This service may be carried as a special advisory service to case-workers. Its aims are (a) to prevent further enforced idleness and to provide occupations for clients and their families in their own stores and shops and thus assist them to keep the family group together, bound by a common interest; (b) to provide partial support for the client and his family by helping them to help themselves; (c) to assist those partially self-sustaining to become fully so, either by temporary assistance, by suggestions on management, or by securing an increase of business; and (d) to avoid the sacrifice of a forced sale and complete dependence.

The service requires, first, a careful analysis of the business and an evaluation of its prospects; second, advice and planning regarding increasing and improving it; and third, a periodic check of income in order to budget the family properly for supplemental relief. As in the property service, when clients are moved into flats owned by other clients, so is the small-trades

service used reciprocally. Bills paid by the organization for such items as shoe repairs and expressing go into the pockets of small tradesmen on relief, and by so much reduce agency costs.

The collection by clients of the large amounts of waste paper that is disposed of daily by the agency is one of the many projects of the small-trades worker. The workers know that the money saved the organization by these transactions is important. They regard as more important, however, the encouraged father and the cheered family.

Medical.—Certain medical and nutritional duties in large agencies may also be delegated to properly qualified workers. These workers may be consulted concerning the troublesome questions of expensive diets, medical appliances, prescriptions, clinic and hospital relationships, as well as on plans for the ill or convalescent.

Thus, by the development of these specialized services are certain features of the case work split off from the load carried by the regular case-worker and by just so much is the load lightened. To the material brought to her from each of these different fields, the case-worker adds her own findings, and correlates and interprets the whole in her study of the total family situation.

Groups.—In addition to the use of the client's powers of self-help and to the development of specialized services to aid in the case-work program, there is another device we are only beginning to employ as a conscious technique in treatment, and that is the working with clients in groups. We may be finding a procedure more effective than some of our old established methods. We have all of us long used for our clients such community resources as the clubs and classes of settlements and churches. These only partially and incidentally serve case-work ends. Perhaps never has there been a time in our social-work program that clients have expressed to such an extent their desire to be dealt with in groups.

Whether these persons are expressing a desire for greater security or are actuated solely by motives of political propaganda,

there are indications of a need on their part that we must recognize and deal with. As the demands of these groups usually involve changes in the policy of the organization, dealing with them is not, strictly speaking, a function of the case-worker.

The groups which I should like to discuss are those that are planned, usually by the case-worker, to meet the particular need, or needs, of a selected group of clients. The purpose may be the fairly simple one of instruction in cooking, in nutrition, in sewing, in home hygiene, or the more difficult one of family relationships. Present-day case loads seem to be pushing us toward a development and more general use of this technique. Among clients in one community there have been formed groups of men to discuss unemployment and its causes; also groups of wives to discuss the effect of unemployment on their husbands.

In this type of group the wives are given a picture of the wide scope of unemployment and the helplessness of their husbands as single individuals in such a general situation, their sense of defeat, and their growing feeling of meaning less in the household. The discussion leads into the ways these disheartened men may be encouraged and how they should be borne with in irritable moments.

An indirect result of one wife's recital of how her husband had "worn a path around the dining-room table" in his restless despair over enforced idleness was the formation of a class in carpentry and cabinet-making, where materials and instruction were furnished and toys and simple furniture built and mended by the otherwise idle man of the house.

The picture of a class I recently attended was of a young, intelligent, skilful, psychiatric social worker, seated in the center of a double semicircle of clients, mothers (and fathers sometimes). The chairs in the beautiful Y.W.C.A. rooms were deep and comfortable, the atmosphere friendly and easy. The group leader had received from the case-worker a card for each client attending, with a short outline of the family relationships. The subject was "Am I a Good Parent?"—the first of a short series. The speaker, after a general talk, illustrated by many stories of

parents who thought they were good and what they did to their children, asked for questions. The questions started in low voices from the first row. Home situations were revealed sometimes under the thin disguise of "I know of a little boy who [story]." The group soon grew more at ease and questions came more freely. Sometimes situations were revealed that the case-worker had not known. One woman's little boy eats ashes—what shall she do to make him stop? "Ask the nurse" says a voice from the group. "Mine ate plaster from a hole in the wall behind the stove, and the nurse told me he didn't have enough calcium in his diet. I fed him what the doctor said and he stopped right away." The group were teaching each other. After they disbanded the leader was consulted privately by several women, some of the information she received going back to the case-worker with occasional recommendations for a behavior clinic reference.

The distinctive features of these group meetings are (*a*) their formation by case-workers; (*b*) the selection of the membership for some case-work end; (*c*) the leader's acquaintance with the personalities and problems of the individuals of the group; (*d*) sufficient skill on the part of the leader to stimulate and direct the discussion; (*e*) a consultation service by the group leader to individuals in the group; and (*f*) a discovery and reporting to the professional staff of special difficulties which seem to need more individualized treatment than the group affords.

A successful group does not just happen. Recently one district office issued three hundred invitations for a ready-made program it was felt would be of benefit. At the first meeting there were seventeen persons and at the second there were only vacant chairs.

An analysis of this failure and some successes led to the conclusions that: (*a*) The program should be based on needs that the client recognizes and wishes met. (*b*) The subject should preferably be one selected by the group. (*c*) Clients should be permitted to bring their relatives and friends, so they may not feel segregated because they are receiving relief. (*d*) The place

of meeting should be unconnected with the relief organization. (c) The case-worker should put herself into the project as little as possible, although utilizing to the full this opportunity of knowing her clients, not only in their relation to their smaller family pattern, but in the larger relationship with the group.

Group meetings on subjects of mental hygiene may fall into several classifications of (a) parent child relationships; (b) the emotional adjustment of the normal adult (how to get along with other people; where the client can perhaps for the first time look at himself objectively; here, too, marital difficulties, the relationships of two persons to themselves and to each other, can be discussed); and (c) adolescence—what it means to grow up.

Whatever the subject, the group forces the leader to discuss the depression angle. After a discussion of how to meet disappointments and an explanation of its being caused by the difference between one's dreams and reality, a cheerful voice calls out, "All right, we're all dreaming about getting off relief. Tell us how!" That is what they want, of course. Group discussions can well be on morale and relief, bringing out some of the reasons relief is administered as it is; why social workers must go into the home. Problems of keeping up personal appearance, "Use of Leisure Time," and "Revamping Our Vocations" are other subjects related to the depression which have been found to be of interest.

We have discussed three methods of lightening the case-workers' burdens: (a) keeping the client moving in his own behalf; (b) development of specialized services; and (c) the use of the group in case work. While these devices and modifications of case work have been born of the emergency of understaffing and consequent overloads, it may be that when the day of a staff adequate in number and preparation arrives, we shall find that some of our new methods will be carried over to form a part of the body of procedure that we shall wish to retain permanently.

PUTTING FOUR MILLIONS TO WORK

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THE administration feels that Civil Works needs no defense. Civil Works did what it set out to do. It put four million people at real work at real wages, and it did it in record-breaking time. It was an emergency measure designed to break the back of a terrible winter. It broke the back of that winter, and came to its appointed end. That it gave employment to only four million workers when according to American Federation of Labor Estimate there were over eleven million workers unemployed brought disappointment. That it went into operation with almost inhuman pressure of time brought hardship. But any speed at all with which it could have been disbanded would have brought desperation.

So, as I say, my purpose is not to defend Civil Works against its critics, but to read into the record an account of a short historical period which should be of the greatest significance to all social workers. Civil Works was definitely not undertaken as an experiment. It was undertaken under the injunction of "do or die," as an emergency measure in time of national calamity. But *ex post facto* we should be able to look upon it not as an achievement over which to be proud, sorry, or alarmed, but as a book of laboratory findings of a social experiment carried to completion under certain limitations of time and money. A little more than half a year ago Civil Works Administration was a dream. Some would have called it an hallucination of grandeur. Now it is in the realm of facts accomplished. What has been done is not always good. But what has been done is possible and can be evaluated in terms of future possibilities. Before we go into any evaluation of the soundness of the principle of

government work as either relief or a stabilizer for private employment, let me tell you the history of Civil Works.

The Civil Works program was announced to the press by the President on Wednesday, November 8, 1933. The following day, the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, by action of its special board, released four hundred million dollars to finance it, and the President issued an executive order creating the C.W.A. and appointing Harry L. Hopkins administrator. On the same day Mr. Hopkins telegraphed an invitation to all governors, Mayors, and state and local administrators to attend a nation-wide meeting to be held November 15 for the purpose of formulating a program.

Between November 9 and November 15, the day of the launching of the Civil Works program, a staff of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration undertook to set up a system whereby four million men might be speedily and with maximum possible efficiency placed in their jobs. General rules and regulations, accounting and disbursing procedure, recording procedure and forms, methods of allocation of funds and of the organization and prosecution of projects, all had to be prepared during this time.

The federal administrator at once made clear his intention to use, in so far as was practical, existing organizations of the federal, state, and local emergency-relief administrations. It was stated that the hours of labor and wage rates on Civil Works projects should be fixed in accordance with the rules and regulations established by the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, and, further, as a general policy with regard to wages, it was stated that all persons employed in Civil Works projects should be paid compensation sufficient to provide for the hours of labor as limited, and a standard of living in decency and comfort. In keeping with that policy, hourly rates were established. In the southern zone, skilled labor was to receive \$1.00, unskilled labor \$0.40; in the central zone, skilled labor \$1.10, unskilled labor \$0.45; and in the northern zone, skilled labor \$1.20 and unskilled \$0.50.

The administrator announced that allocation to states should be by quota of persons to be employed, the number to be based 75 per cent on population and 25 per cent on the number of families receiving relief. On November 23, one week and one day following the inauguration of the program, 857,000 persons received their first pay checks. On November 30, 1,438,000 were on the pay-roll. On December 7, 2,027,000. On January 12, the number had reached 4,095,000. Within less than two months, nearly 4,100,000 jobless men had been put to work. Wage payments had correspondingly gone forward. The first pay-roll of November 23 amounted to \$7,831,000. By December 14 this had reached \$33,284,000. By January 4 it reached \$52,300,000. and for the week of January 18 it reached the top figure of \$62,062,000.

In carrying out the idea of a real job with real wages, the selection and certification of persons for jobs was made by the National Re-employment Service. Overnight they established offices in practically every county in the United States under the leadership of W. Frank Persons. If I wished to make a case I should rest my case there. For though it took inventive genius and capacity for leadership in every county in the union to launch and prosecute a work program of such unprecedented dimensions, that genius and that capacity were found. A stream of moral and mental energy was released that dumbfounded the nation. Every documented instance of graft and greed can be washed away and forgotten before that national Niagara of character which we all saw before our eyes.

Around two hundred and fifty thousand projects of public work were found for these people to be engaged upon. Over and beyond its human restorative value most of this work was useful, and an astonishing proportion of it has lasting social worth. By definition, of course, an acceptable project was one which was socially and economically desirable, provided that it might be undertaken quickly. For a moment cast your eye with me over a few of the thousands of projects which were at hand to be done. Work long contemplated by scientists and students was made possible.

In conjunction with the Department of Agriculture and with the Bureau of Public Health Service, accomplishments in disease and in the control of predatory animals gave back to the public an inestimable saving in money and human life. Through stream clearing, drainage, and oiling, and by the filling of bayous, mosquitoes were fought in an effort to control malaria. The plague of the grasshopper was fought with poison; cattle, horses, and mules throughout the country areas of Florida, Louisiana, and Texas were systematically dipped for tick eradication. In Maryland, Delaware, and Virginia the spotted fever was fought. In co-operation with the Bureau of Entomology projects to control and eliminate plant diseases and pests were undertaken for the saving of trees and crops. A group of projects was undertaken to improve public property. Forest improvement and preservation went forward.

It seems superfluous even to attempt to list for social workers who were closely associated with them the wide variety of patently useful undertakings. Some of the more conspicuous are as follows: A survey of juvenile delinquency in part of Massachusetts in connection with the study of crime prevention. The culture and raising of seven and one-half million sweet-potato slips to be used for emergency-relief subsistence gardens. Books in public libraries were repaired and rebound. This was a nation-wide project. With the approval of the Treasury Department buildings were demolished on proposed post-office sites. Philadelphia had its own concert orchestra composed of unemployed musicians. Fish hatcheries were constructed in several states, and a fish-and-game census, showing game killed and fish caught by licensed hunters, was made.

Connecticut had a project to catch starfish on the state's oyster beds; 72,000 bushels of starfish were caught. Damage to the oyster beds in Connecticut in one year amounted to \$651,000. The benefit derived from this project is beyond estimation. Four hundred and fifty thousand barrels of oysters were planted on Mississippi reefs. In New Mexico a prehistoric village on the Santa Fe River at Agua Fria was uncovered and 190 rooms were excavated. This was done in co-operation with the

Laboratory of Anthropology at Santa Fe. Pennsylvania had a project to make a survey and prepare maps of abandoned gas and oil wells, mines, and impounded water in abandoned mines. These maps have been needed by the Pennsylvania Department of Mines for many years. Dental-hygiene work was carried on in various schools in Wisconsin. Needy college students were aided in continuing their studies.

It was recognized that there were thousands of white-collar workers among the ranks of the unemployed, and that everything should be done to develop types of projects which would provide them with work as similar as possible to that to which they were accustomed. One of the principal kinds of employment for this class of worker was in the gathering of statistics and the doing of various types of research. We know that in each state many valuable and interesting projects were undertaken. As to the federal projects, however, we have much more accurate information. A number of departments of the federal government submitted projects of the utmost importance in obtaining information badly needed at this time in connection with the recovery program. Some thirty-five thousand people were engaged in obtaining and tabulating information from local and county records, from persons on relief rolls, from business concerns, from householders, and from other sources.

A census of American business was taken, covering practically every wholesale and retail organization in the country, as well as many service industries, such as theaters and garages. The results of this census are being compared with a similar one taken in 1929. This will give us a picture of what effect the depression has had on the number of establishments in each type of activity; on the number of part-time and full-time employees; the amount of the pay-roll; the amount of overhead and operating costs; and the total receipts, as well as much other pertinent information.

Inventories were taken in both rural and urban regions in every state showing the condition of homes and apartment houses; what repairs and installations were needed; the extent of

crowding and doubling up of families; the amount of rent; the amount of the mortgage and the status of mortgage payments. From this information a program of construction, repairs, and remodeling of farm houses and rural dwellings may be prepared. Studies were made of tax delinquencies and methods of tax collection and related matters, with a view to obtaining information concerning the financial condition of counties and other subdivisions throughout the country, and of ascertaining their ability to withstand the heavy drains being made upon public funds in this period.

It was the intention to put each man to work under the best conditions of private employment. As we all know in multitudes of instances, this could not be accomplished, but in one respect at least we point with considerable sense of achievement to a better work condition than many of these people had ever experienced. Incomplete, conflicting reports of accident experience on relief work, together with the conditions attending development of a program on the scale of C.W.A., indicated the probability of a high accident rate. Initiative in promoting a country-wide safety program has produced a record which, on a basis of the latest estimates, cuts the number of accidental deaths and injuries to approximately one-half of those originally expected.

In every state, a state safety director was appointed and in nearly every county a safety director. On down the line the organization was hurried into action, until each major project came under the attention of the nation-wide network of safety instruction, inspection, and first aid. Experienced industrial safety engineers were borrowed wherever possible for administrative jobs and to instruct newly recruited men who were without the professional safety training and experience. Where full-time inspectors could not be used, the foreman or some other reliable workman on each job was made responsible for safety inspection of the working conditions, wherever possible.

From the point of view of national safety promotion, the campaign probably achieved the greatest spread of information on

safety practices ever accomplished in the history of the country. Because the C.W.A. jobs were carried on in every county of the country, the safety work reached into sections that under its normal growth through organized industrial channels might not have heard of it for twenty-five years. With a view to having a trained first-aid man on every project, the American Red Cross co-operated in training seventy thousand of the workers. That number is more than were trained during the peak year of the World War.

By Civil Works we have not only turned up a large volume of chronic poverty to which even the best of us in the past have been willing to close our eyes, but we have learned in detail that the building up of family reserves, whether of property resources or health and ability, is a wage problem and does not lie within the realm of relief magic. If we wish to build up a self-recruiting race of paupers, a caste of economic untouchables, we shall continue to keep one-eighth of our population on a standard of living which does not permit of hope, any freedom of choice, or of enough to eat.

We have learned that for one city in which we have analyzed the November figures, the median earnings at which people either voluntarily left or were pushed off relief rolls was about seventeen dollars, for a family of five, per week. This by no means indicates that relief to the amount of seventeen dollars a week was given. A man at the top figure might perhaps have received a ton of coal per week. The flat average for this anonymous city was between five and six dollars a week. This average includes persons who have no income whatsoever. This seventeen dollars a week, at which people leave relief rolls, should come to about nine hundred dollars a year. I say "should come" since in the stratum of population where such incomes hold true there is so little regularity of income that the yearly total is likely to fall almost anywhere below this figure. Moreover, we must remember that by definition of the word "median" 50 per cent of the incomes computed fall below this average and 50 above.

What does nine hundred dollars buy for a city family of five

in a year? We can perhaps best analyze the living level which it makes possible by realizing that it is seven hundred dollars less than the sixteen-hundred-dollar minimum budget set by Chicago social workers in 1933—a budget whose purchasing power is best described by the fact that it allows the man of the family one fifty-cent necktie a year. It is at this level that people leave relief. At a level lower than this that they gorge on its plenty.

How closely involved is this relief level with wages was expressed by the unemployed man in Ohio who described the plight of the workman who wants to leave relief and who can hope for nothing better than the minimum wage of fourteen dollars. "On relief," he said, "we get between five and six dollars a week for food. We are hungry on that amount. Our children do not have what they need. But when we go off relief we are supposed to take up the obligations and responsibilities of self-respecting citizens. We pay rent. We buy clothes. We pay for utilities. We pay for the doctor. We send our children to school. What, then, shall we have left for food? Less than we have now, which is not enough."

At the risk of our being accused of having bad recovery manners, I maintain that social workers should be told about the certain probability that unemployment, even with full business revival, will have a lateral spread. To do other than to have our eyes open to this at a moment when all attention is focused upon the glad sight of new smoke in the factory chimneys is to hide our heads in the sand. Unless the public in this country is brought face to face with the true state of affairs, public opinion will not be prepared for the measures which will be necessary to alleviate the situation. There is real danger that many of the recent accomplishments in the care of the unemployed will be swept away by a wave of popular revulsion.

According to Ewen Clague, who has done some excellent thinking on this matter, we have powerful tendencies at work, all leading in the direction of increased unemployment. We know that predepression estimates of chronic unemployment were up from a million. The depression has done things to the

population, to industry, to opportunity, and to education which increase this excess labor supply. Destitution has pushed out of their retirement older men and women who thought they were finished with their work. The rate of retirement, too, has moved up. Necessity has brought married women out of their homes. Boys and girls older than sixteen and younger than twenty-two who would have been in college if earlier expectations had been fulfilled are out upon the labor market bright and early. A miscellaneous group of dependents, including criminals and beggars, are, if reluctantly, out for the job. Destitution enlarges the labor pool.

But further than this, if a business kept its head above water in this depression, it had to produce more efficiently and find new methods of saving labor costs. These new methods were introduced to stay, or to give way to newer and more efficient methods. They produce unemployment, not by adding to the labor pool, but by constricting opportunity. And every year, depression or no depression, technological advance goes forward relentlessly. We have had four full years of it without taking stock.

I draw your eyes to this mountain of labor ahead of us so that we shall not tire in going over it, and can measure our spirit ahead of time as we would measure the food and water for a journey. All of our internal problems relate to a long climb. We should reject as far as possible all emergency, quick-breathing sorties up the side. We have lived for a year in the air of emergency. It could not be helped. Now our most important task is not to slow our tempo but to get a new stride, a longer and easier one. We shall have to cover just as much ground, but we shall cover it better if we take a longer time in getting started. Our ideal social progress should perhaps be upward on a gradual incline. Actually we are propelled forward in a series of crises which catapult us to a higher plateau, where we go forward again with level, laborious traveling. The waste of such progress is great, but we should not consider this waste inevitable any more than we should consider war to be inevitable. We do not

have to survey with fatalism the dead bodies of those our maneuvers have left behind.

I am trying to say two things. I am persuaded, as are you all, of the necessity of slow, careful social planning. I am persuaded of the necessity of patience, both in ourselves and in the people on relief. I am aware that there is insolence in any employed person who can cold-bloodedly counsel patience to millions of unemployed people who have been patient to a fault. Nevertheless, I am sure that we can all endure the thicket better and longer if we know that by pushing through it we shall arrive upon a road that leads continuously forward. It is only by regarding the magnitude and the permanence of the problem that we can condition ourselves to waiting. We have to recognize that whereas under the present order the relief burden of chronic unemployment is with us on the grand scale for years to come, we shall have to convert it into something other than a problem of relief.

The second thing I am trying to say is a qualification of this truth rather than a contradiction of it, or a defense of emergency moves—that in the midst of such national calamity as that from which we are being led, we can expect expeditionary measures. Quick decisions have to be made. Sometimes for all of us they are decisions which we regret. We wish we had had time to ripen our judgment upon that immediate matter. But we cannot regret the scenes of our education, and we can only know that if we had the same thing to do again, we should probably come again to the same conclusion. This is the penalty of even attempting to meet the pressure of quickly gathered events, although we have no recourse but to attempt to meet them.

NEED OF STATE LEGISLATION TO SUPPLEMENT
AND FOLLOW UP THE N.R.A.

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WE CANNOT leave it to history to evaluate the N.R.A., to point out its achievements or its shortcomings. We cannot wait even until the end of the two years granted by Congress for its existence to analyze its results and to weigh the merits of federal versus state laws for regulation of our industrial system. We must take count and counsel as we go.

Necessity and emergency are the forces responsible for the creation of the N.R.A. as a power for reform and recovery. Now again the necessity of explaining its functions and objectives to offset unfair and uninformed criticism compels us to make careful analysis even while we are still in the throes of the creation of this new system. Now also the emergency looming as inevitable a year hence at the expiration of the N.R.A., unless prolonged by congressional act, already is challenging us into efforts at preparedness.

Students of labor conditions and problems in the past years have realized the need of—and even ventured to picture as a future reality—a program of nation-wide and uniform labor standards to make for justice and progress. Now that such a program in the form of the N.R.A. has been actually established by an act of Congress in this country, providing for participation by industry itself in formulating and enforcing those standards, you will understand my enthusiasm for the idea this project represents. I know full well that there are pitfalls to the right and left to be warily avoided, rough places on the highway in need of repair. But I feel we cannot fail, not because we have

made such a good start, but because we are on the right track. Since we must look ahead and plan advisedly, may I stress a few points in regard to federal-state co-operation and procedure along the lines of labor legislation?

First, we cannot expect to rely wholly upon federal regulation in the industrial field either in the present or in the future. In the program for inaugurating a new era, an era of economic and industrial planning under the control of a democracy like ours, the states have an exceedingly vital and important part to play. In establishing standards of minimum wages and maximum hours, in eliminating competition, in increasing employment and purchasing power, and in developing better employer-employee relations, the N.R.A. can go far, but the states must supplement, carry on, and follow up the work. Naturally, the federal government is greatly dependent upon the state governments for the success of the program for recovery and reform. Therefore the N.R.A. is seeking assistance and co-operation from the states in various ways.

The question has been asked, "Why does N.R.A. encourage the enactment of state recovery acts?" Going back to the Constitution, you will recall that all powers not expressly given to the federal government were reserved to the several states. The National Industrial Recovery Act authorizes the President to approve codes of fair competition without any qualification, but the penalty is restricted to "violation of any provision . . . in any transaction in or affecting interstate or foreign commerce." That restriction was necessary to keep the Act within the bounds of the Constitution.

Just how far the courts will go in interpreting what transactions affect interstate commerce, of course only time will tell and different lower courts will make different decisions on the same set of facts. They are doing that every day.

Even in ordinary lines the Supreme Court of the United States has ruled that "the power to regulate commerce is the power to enact 'all appropriate legislation or its protection and advancement' . . . ; to adopt measures 'to promote its growth

and insure its safety' . . . ; to 'foster, protect, control and restrain' Exercising this authority, Congress may facilitate the amicable settlement of disputes which threaten the service of the necessary agencies of interstate transportation." In an emergency declared to exist by Congress the courts are likely to go a long way in support of emergency legislation.

Nevertheless, certain local trades and industries are clothed with no direct interstate aspect—for example, a shoeshine stand may not be construed by the courts as affecting interstate commerce. Some of these local trades and industries employ in the aggregate many thousands of persons. It unquestionably is important to the recovery program that they be paid some sort of wage approaching a decent minimum.

Therefore, if all the states were to pass recovery acts in harmony with the National Industrial Recovery Act, no one could hide under the technicality of jurisdiction. That is why N.R.A. encourages these state recovery acts.

The Legal Division of N.R.A. has prepared a model state recovery act, the essential part of which is that codes of fair competition approved by the President and registered with the appropriate authority in the state become part of the body of the law of that state and "any violation of any provision of such code or agreement within the state, whether or not transactions in or affecting interstate or foreign commerce, shall be a misdemeanor," and a fine of five hundred dollars is provided upon conviction for such offense. Like the National Industrial Recovery Act, this model state act provides that each day's violation constitutes a separate offense.

The wording provided is designed to avoid technical encounters over jurisdiction. We have had several cases where defendants in federal courts pleaded that their business is wholly intrastate and, therefore, the federal government had no jurisdiction, and we have had cases in state courts in which the defendant pleaded that its business was interstate and, therefore, the state courts had no jurisdiction.

I should like to illustrate the force and effect of state N.R.A.

enabling legislation by what has been done in one state. (May I be forgiven for selecting Wisconsin? Other states may be and some probably are doing as well.) The Wisconsin Recovery Act was approved by the governor on July 25, 1933. Provisions are effective for two years, unless by proclamation the governor declares emergency has ended. Eleven codes have been approved. Thirty in process of preparation involve intrastate business. Here, therefore, is a demonstration of the manner in which state support for the N.R.A. idea may be fostered. It shows also the opportunity of extending state administration of labor legislation into a field not heretofore covered—that is, hours and wages for men workers.

The setting-up also of administrative machinery in the state provides for joint effort, eliminating the danger of leaving the entire burden on the federal government, and furthermore gives the state—not a more efficient system—we may not say that—but shall we say a more understanding and more responsive system?

At the present time under the N.R.A. the states can supplement and reinforce the federal program even without enacting additional state legislation. The National Industrial Recovery Act authorized the President to utilize, with the consent of the states, such state and local officers and employees as he might find necessary. In matters of checking on violations in the various states, of compliance and law enforcement, the states are aiding, and can assist to a much greater extent, the federal compliance service and its director operating in each state.

So far, wherever possible, there has been established between the state compliance office, with its federal staff, a working arrangement with state departments of labor providing for their officials to make inspections or investigations along the lines of, or in connection with, the provisions for hours and wages in the various codes. The N.R.A. is trying to sponsor, encourage, and develop, in so far as possible, such co-operation through expansion of this joint effort.

In the matter of law enforcement for code provisions under

the N.R.A., the individual state labor departments, where adequate, seem the most experienced and best-equipped authority to act as fact-finding agencies for the labor compliance service. In this respect, state agencies can probably function in many cases more effectively than federal agencies. State officials already are well acquainted with local conditions, groups, industries, laws, problems, trends, etc.

The N.R.A. lays great stress on compliance, which is a soft term for enforcement. It urges enveloping the iron fist of the law in the velvet glove of persuasion. Compliance connotes voluntary co-operation by employers instead of action as the result of legal cudgels. It suggests settlement at the council table rather than in the courts. In other words, N.R.A. authorities feel that if law can be made into custom, it will be more highly respected and more readily obeyed.

In promoting compliance and making investigations, state labor officials are in many cases better fitted because better known, and therefore more acceptable to, and less resented by, local industries than are new federal agents. State labor officials are well acquainted with the laws and enforcing machinery in the state, and therefore can administer and operate much more quickly and more easily. Moreover, in this dovetailing of national and state governments in matters of legal labor standards, in some instances, state regulations supersede the N.R.A. provisions. Legal authorities have expressed the opinion that in any state having a minimum wage law of its own with rates higher than those set by the N.R.A., the more progressive state law shall supplant the N.R.A. standard. For example, the attorney-general of California rendered this decision, "Where states and the federal government have concurrent jurisdiction of the subject matter, the statutory regulation giving the greatest protection or greatest restriction is the one to be applied." Similar interpretations have been rendered by the Industrial Commission of Wisconsin and by the general counsel for the N.R.A. It is obvious that where such situations exist, state officials are of invaluable aid in knowing and enforcing the proper regulations.

The N.R.A. has some decided limitations even in regard to the basic principles of minimum wage, maximum hour, and elimination of child labor that it is sponsoring. The phraseology of the law has clipped the wings of the Blue Eagle so that it cannot fly so high or so wide as many would desire. For example, beyond its standard-making wings are the many thousands of women in household employment. To regulate their hours and wages is absolutely beyond the control of the N.R.A., despite many appeals and complaints from these groups to federal authorities. Even though child labor continues to exist in the field of domestic service, the N.R.A. can take no remedial steps there. And the Children's Bureau in the United States Department of Labor tells us that children not permitted to work in industry are drifting into domestic service and agriculture. Then, as you know, there is the controversial question causing so much agitation at present as to whether certain types of service employment which seem to be more intrastate than interstate in character can be considered as coming under the same jurisdiction.

In addition to the principles of hours, wages, and collective bargaining outlined by the National Industrial Recovery Act, there are, also, calling for consideration in our emergency period other measures of tremendous importance in our national and state program for reform and recovery that are, for the most part, beyond the control of the N.R.A., and therefore even more challenging to state action. I refer to such measures as safety, sanitation, industrial compensation, old-age pensions, and unemployment insurance for our wage-earners. These have to do with labor costs also, and they, too, like wages and working hours, should be eliminated as factors in the equation of industrial competition. The sooner we can keep labor from bearing the brunt of industrial competition between employers and reduce such competition to the simple terms of skilful and efficient management, the better off will be all groups connected with or dependent upon the industrial world—and that includes just about everybody in the country.

Certainly, it is an inescapable challenge to the states today to fill in these great breaches in our economic and industrial system

unprotected by the N.R.A. or by other federal legislation despite some efforts in Congress on two or three of these issues.

Then the states must begin to take thought for the morrow both in regard to principles sponsored by the N.R.A. as well as for these other labor measures beyond its jurisdiction. As we have stressed again and again, the N.R.A. is an emergency measure, and we should hasten to pass the necessary state laws to hold and to improve the standards achieved under its cloak.

If time and patience permitted us to analyze here and now all our present state labor laws, you would be struck by their great lack of uniformity and lack of progressive standards. For example, only seven states and the District of Columbia limit women's working hours to eight a day and forty-eight a week in some occupations. Yet the N.R.A. codes have rather generally established the forty-hour week for men as well as women. Only sixteen states have some sort of minimum wage law for women, minors, or both, yet the N.R.A. codes provide minimum wage rates for both men and women.

For the benefit of those who would resist a program of uniform state legislation and who would prefer to revert to the old order prior to the N.R.A., one need only to refer to the experiences of those of us engaged in labor-law administration several years ago. We encountered many employers who said, "We believe in these labor laws; they are right, but we are in competition with other states not under similar labor standards—our competitors can undersell us." Such arguments were hard to refute.

Take hosiery manufacturers in Wisconsin who in recent years have had to comply with a minimum wage and a fifty-hour week law for their women employees and who yet have had to compete with hosiery firms in the nearby state of Indiana, which had no minimum wage or limitation to the daily or weekly hours of women. Under the N.R.A. the hosiery mills in these two states and all others in the same area are on an equal basis in regard to legal wage and hour standards.

Or take the situation in the cotton-textile industry as it has

existed between the North and the South. Massachusetts with a forty-eight hour week and a minimum wage law for women and minors has been in competition with southern states where long hours and intolerably low wages were within the law. What happened? The ten years between 1920 and 1930 saw a decided shifting of the cotton-textile industry from the North to the South, the chief cause of which has been attributed to the lower manufacturing costs in the South—lower taxes, lower wages, and longer hours. Now under the N.R.A. no cotton mill can pay less than the minimum wage rate established for men as well as women with a small differential between the North and South, twelve dollars being permitted in the South and thirteen dollars in the North. Also, the code limits maximum hours to forty hours a week for both women and men.

Another striking example of the need of nation-wide uniform standards is furnished by a report of the women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor on conditions in the manufacture of work clothing some months prior to the N.R.A. The median week's earnings of women working in such factories in California, with its eight-hour day, forty-eight-hour week, and minimum wage law, were fourteen and a half dollars. Much lower wages were found in Arkansas and Georgia which have no minimum wage legislation and which permit considerably longer hours for women. The Arkansas median for women in work-clothing factories was only six dollars and fifty-five cents, the median in Georgia being seven dollars and forty-five cents. I could multiply such illustrations.

In other words, prior to the N.R.A., cutthroat competition was causing an alarming breakdown in industrial standards in all states where the law had failed to build up the necessary defenses for the workers against hard times. Is it any wonder that forward-looking employers who were trying to maintain standards and those in the more progressive states whose interests were being disastrously undermined by exploiters of labor in the states with lower standards appealed to the federal government for some kind of legal aid?

In the future we cannot afford to slip back to such chaotic and unfair conditions. We owe a guaranty to advanced employers who have tried to establish good standards and also maintain profitable business to bring up the laggards competing with and underselling them. We owe a guaranty to the labor groups dependent upon industry for a livelihood to see that they are no longer the victims of unfair competition and sweatshop practices but that they have employment standards giving them a chance for a well-rounded existence. We also owe it to our race and our nation to prevent employers from undermining the general welfare at the same time they are being subsidized through community relief funds paid to their workers unable to subsist on starvation wages.

We have had various conferences in the past year looking toward interstate action in regard to better and uniform labor laws. Some of these gatherings have been sponsored by state authorities, but the most far reaching and most important was the Conference on Labor Legislation in Washington convened and presided over by Secretary Perkins in February of this year. It was attended by representatives from state departments of labor and state federations of labor for thirty-nine states. As a result, a set of general resolutions was drawn up—also specific resolutions in regard to the various kinds of state labor legislation required for future progress. These were in line with the ten-point program of this sort advocated by Secretary Perkins in a speech before the Railway Labor Executives Association in Chicago last December. Her program included: permanent limitation of hours of labor; prohibition of child labor; the fixing of standard minimum wages for women; requirement of safe and healthful working conditions; provision for aged workers; some form of unemployment reserves; adequate workmen's compensation laws; free public employment exchanges; improved and stronger administration of labor laws; steps to make permanent improved labor conditions.

Here are some of the general resolutions adopted by the Conference on Labor Legislation in February, 1934:

WHEREAS, Labor legislation, Nation-wide in scope, such as had been achieved under the codes of the National Industrial Recovery Act has been productive of great good to the working people of the country and has brought about the reduction of unsound competition between the states,

Be It Resolved, That this Conference approves the continuance of the codes beyond the present term of the National Industrial Recovery Act as a permanent part of our national economic structure. . . .

WHEREAS, The achievement of the objectives of the codes which have been adopted under the National Industrial Recovery Act depends to a large extent upon the effective enforcement of the labor provisions of the codes,

Be It Resolved, That judicious but strict enforcement of those provisions of the codes relating to wages, hours and working conditions is necessary and that in the procedure for enforcement full use should be made of the inspection facilities of the State labor departments. . . .

WHEREAS, The industrial competition between the states makes desirable substantial uniformity of labor laws among competitive states,

Be It Resolved,

1. That there be regular contact between labor department officials, representatives of employers, representatives of workers and of the public of competing states for the purpose of discussing and proposing labor laws which will tend to raise and unify standards for the states participating in such conferences.

2. That such conferences include representatives of the Federal Department of Labor.

3. That such conferences be held semi-annually on a regional basis.

4. That such conferences consider the adoption of inter-state compacts providing for uniform labor legislation or any other practical devices to achieve this object.

5. That the Secretary of Labor appoint both a permanent secretary and a standing committee to work with her in the preparation of a definite plan for the establishment of such regional conferences and co-ordination of effort among them. . . .

Thus the federal government always has the power to formulate standards and point the way through the United States Department of Labor, but the state governments must carry the real responsibility and burden of establishing and maintaining uniform standards. The N.R.A. may go out of existence, but the principles and standards it has evolved must go on. Codification may terminate, but the central theme must continue. We have forged the instruments and methods making for the finest history yet known to man. I believe we can and shall go forward with federal and state governments playing their respective parts more effectively because of the attempt at codification.

THE EFFECT OF THE N.R.A. ON LABOR

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THE standpoint from which I wish to view the N.R.A. and its related measures in the total program known as the New Deal assumes that we are in a dynamic period of history, in which the labor movement is emerging into consciousness of its function in the struggle for power between private ownership of property and collective control, which, in contrast to ownership, inheres in work and therefore belongs to all workers, industrial, technical, and scientific.

My thesis is that the N.R.A. is a stage in the struggle of private ownership to retain its domination, and that it has sought to enlist the labor movement in defense of the *status quo* of economic privilege. The lead has been taken by governmental and industrial officials, because the fear that the rising tide of discontent brought about by the suffering of unemployment and lowered standards of living at the moment of the expanding productive capacity of this nation and the world has caused government and industry to make common cause against the forces which would otherwise make for change both in the economic and in the political system.

Within this setting, the effect of the N.R.A. upon the workers' struggle may be summed up in the statement that it has stimulated hopes and led to bitter disappointment; and that through this process of disillusionment for the workers it is swinging the labor movement from its ancient moorings, from collective bargaining, with its acceptance of the *status quo*, to a broad working-class movement with the single objective of protecting the common human rights and interests of all workers, industrial and agricultural, in conflict with the claims of property.

It is a curious but none the less understandable phenomenon that this trend was not foreseen by labor leaders or by the gen-

eral public, including many of the social workers, at the moment when the National Industrial Recovery Act was under consideration. It is with no desire to say "I told you so," but merely by way of indicating that the trends were visible at an early date, that I refer to a paper on "A Planned Economy," presented at a conference on National Economic Objectives under the auspices of the American Association of Social Workers on April 22, 1933. I pleaded there for the concept of a planned economy which would use to the full America's resources for the needs of its population.

The so-called Swope Plan, made public in the autumn of 1931, was the origin of the National Industrial Recovery Act, and it is the explanation of its history in all its aspects, in the making of codes, in the establishment of code authorities practically identical with trade associations or with their controlling industrial groups, and also in the provisions of the law which promised to labor the right of collective bargaining.

It was undoubtedly due to the current support of the proposed thirty-hour law and the importance of winning the support of labor that the clause relating to collective bargaining was inserted in the National Industrial Recovery Act, which otherwise was essentially a repeal of the antitrust laws and the substitution of a scheme of control opening the way to the growing power of monopoly.

It is worth recalling that in advance of the passage of the Act two important industries had pledged their support. The electrical industry, meeting on May 23, 1933, voted to co-operate in the program; and the steel industry, through Charles M. Schwab, had the following to say at a meeting of the American Steel Institute on May 25:

President Roosevelt in his splendid address to the country on May 7 (before the United States Chamber of Commerce) invited industry into partnership with the government to solve its problems. This openminded pronouncement warrants the admiration of the entire country. I am happy indeed to express mine. The President offers to the business world the facilities and prestige of our government in eliminating unfair competitive practices with all of their ruinous effects upon prices, wages and profits.

To this he added the following pledge: "Speaking for the steel industry, I say that we gladly accept this offer of partnership."

The trade-unions, after years of unsuccessful struggle against the anti-union policies of American corporations, saw in the clause insuring to them the right to organize and bargain collectively, through representatives of their own choosing, a Magna Carta. In some industries, such as coal-mining, they were actually freed for organization for the moment, because the enforcement of permanent injunctions against organizational activities was held in abeyance by political officers (known to coal miners as "the law"), sensing a new direction in political thinking on the subject of trade-unions in the new federal administration.

At the same time there entered into the law and its acceptance another element, which was joyfully greeted by the exponents of labor legislation, namely, the provision that codes should include the statement of a minimum wage. This seemed at one stroke to enact minimum-wage legislation, and won the support of those who had been its advocates. The fact was overlooked that minimum-wage legislation had never been advanced in its history in Europe as anything more than an effort to lift the lowest levels above the conditions of sweatshops. For the higher levels of workers' incomes, minimum-wage laws left untouched the whole struggle of the labor movement to secure a fairer share of the product, and thus the minimum-wage provision in itself was of importance only as the collective-bargaining provision actually increased labor's power in the struggle.

That it was not the intention of the chief administrator of the law to encourage this struggle was made evident at the moment when the National Industrial Recovery Act was signed by the President. He described its purpose to set industry (meaning employers) free for self-government, and added: "This is not a law to foment discord and it will not be executed as such. . . . We can safely rely on the sense of fair play among all Americans to assure every industry which now moves for-

ward promptly in this united drive against depression that its workers will be with it to a man."

Those who explain the growing disillusionment of labor's hopes in the collective-bargaining provision of the National Industrial Recovery Act by saying that it is contrary to the original purpose of the Act overlook this clear-cut statement of the President which called essentially upon labor to lay aside its struggle until recovery could be achieved. Quite consistent, therefore, with this original statement was President Roosevelt's announcement on August 5 that the Industrial Mediation Board, subsequently known as the National Labor Board, was appointed, with an "appeal to management and labor for industrial peace," calling upon "every individual in both groups to avoid strikes, lockouts or any aggressive action during the recovery program."

By a strategic move which tended still to preserve the confidence of labor and the general public in the rights of labor under the Act, this appeal was actually sent to the President jointly by the Industrial Advisory Board and the Labor Advisory Board of the N.R.A. The President said of it in the announcement of August 5:

It is a document on a par with Samuel Gompers's memorable wartime demand to preserve the *status quo* in labor disputes, and in addition to the signature of the president of the American Federation of Labor it carries the signature of every great labor leader and every great industrial leader on the two advisory boards of the recovery administration. It is an act of economic statesmanship. I earnestly commend it to the public conscience.

Thus the stage was set for the unity of government and industrial corporations, supported by "the public conscience," in asking labor to preserve the *status quo* in labor disputes at the very moment when practically all economists and political leaders and even some industrialists were pointing out that the trouble with American industry was lack of purchasing power, thus certainly implying that only through fatter pay envelopes for both wage-earners and salaried workers could the balance between production and consumption required for recovery be achieved.

The history of the struggle of labor since the enactment of the law is strangely monotonous in the identity of experience which it reveals. First came the response of the rank and file in an unprecedented movement toward organization. Then came strikes for recognition of the union, carried out in the belief that this was what the law provided for, and that therefore labor was fulfilling the law in taking steps toward collective bargaining. Then followed protests against strikes, which, if they were important enough, came from Washington or from the President, supported by the national leaders of labor, who had so completely committed themselves to this program of industrial peace that they played a rôle which can only be described as strike-breaking. To these appeals the rank and file responded by going back to work, leaving to Washington settlement of their claims for recognition of the union. Employers then took their stand with the statement that they would receive representatives of the workers, but that this did not require or even imply a union agreement, that the company union was ready to serve as representing the workers, and that collective bargaining meant merely a joint conference with a group of employees.

This experience has been repeated in such widely different industries as silk hosiery, steel, iron-ore mines, coal mines, and the making of automobiles; taxicab drivers, hotel and restaurant workers; and longshoremen. And in innumerable others the workers have spent the year since the law was promulgated in June, 1933, in waiting for what they believed would in logic and justice be the only possible stand of the government, namely, a stand in favor of the trade-unions' rights to collective bargaining.

The settlement of the threatened automobile workers' strike has finally dashed the hopes of workers. This settlement, announced at the White House on March 25, thus coming directly from the President, declared that the employers had agreed "to bargain collectively with the freely chosen representatives of groups" (thus curiously registering the employers' agreement to a law) and that "if there be more than one group each bargain-

ing committee shall have total membership *pro rata* to the number of men each member represents."

It needs no profound or extensive knowledge of trade-union organization to know that this settlement, if unresisted, would be a deathblow to the unions, for the employer who opposes organization can always, through his power to hire and fire, find men who are willing to form groups outside the trade-union and who thereby can so weaken the union in its struggle for power as to leave a clear field to the employers' decisions, exactly as though there were no organization of the workers.

The following official explanation of this statement, which was virtually a repeal of what labor had thought the collective bargaining provision of the National Industrial Recovery Act involved, set the stage for the next struggle of the workers. It was declared:

The government makes it clear that it favors no particular union or particular form of employe organization or representation. The government's only duty is to secure absolute and uninfluenced freedom of choice without coercion, restraint or intimidation from any source.

This comes from an administration which has found it entirely possible to favor a particular form of organization of employers. The law has invited groups of employers, organized in trade associations, to submit codes, and has gone so far in recognition of these organizations of employers as to give them the full authority of government to enforce the codes. The government has found it possible to determine, usually from the statement of the employing groups, exactly how much of the industry was represented in the trade association or group chosen to enforce the code. Yet it is not possible for the government to discover the specific form of workers' organization which can best fulfil the requirements of representation of the workers in collective bargaining. Indeed, it has been one of the indications of bias in the Act that the phrase "self-government in industry" has applied only to the employers' groups and has never involved representation of the workers recognized in the Act as having a legitimate share in self-government.

The White House statement of March 25 went even farther in its emphasis upon the significance of this settlement in the automobile industry. It called it "a framework for a new structure of industrial relations." "It is my hope," the President said, "that this system may develop into a kind of works council in industry in which all groups of employees, whatever may be their choice of organization or form of representation, may participate in joint conferences with their employers and I am assured by the industry that such is also their goal and wish."

This statement, taken in conjunction with all that has gone before, both in the terms of the National Industrial Recovery Act and in its administration, is of outstanding significance. It clarifies the possible corporation-controlled form of labor organization under the Fascism which has been evolving within the framework of the New Deal.

For the workers, particularly the rank and file, the consciousness of the significance of this movement is growing. Its real significance is that it is the beginning of a workers' political movement. What is a worker's political movement, as distinguished from the old collective bargaining? It is a protest against government and its activities and policies; and the strikes that are developing now are just such protests against the N.R.A., with which, through the automobile settlement, the President has now identified himself. Hitherto his position has been the advantageous one of standing for the rights of the workers against tremendous odds in the opposition of employers and the mistakes or the opposing interests of lesser administrators. But now the President cannot escape identification both with the employers' policies and with the repeated evidence of the attitude of administrators against the organizations of labor as a factor to be reckoned with under the Act.

Collective bargaining is essentially an acceptance by labor of the *status quo*. It has perfectly expressed the philosophy of the American Federation of Labor in entering into agreements with employers. In American Federation of Labor unions the current

designation for the workers' representative is "the business agent," indicating the business-like quality of an agreement involving wages and hours between a group of workers and their employers. Virtually it has been a sale of their labor under the best potential conditions. This is the explanation for the development of craft unionism as the cornerstone of the American labor movement. Employers might have been well advised, and the government would have given wise leadership, if continuance of this idea of collective bargaining had been insisted upon.

With failure to achieve the business-like collective bargain, the rank and file are now beginning to find the necessity for a wider organization, extending beyond the boundaries of the craft or even of the separate industry. Strikes are showing a tendency to spread, indicating an actual growth of what might be called "working-class solidarity." When this working-class solidarity comes about through disillusionment with government, the stage is set for the growth of sympathetic strikes with the idea of mass protests, and finally the general strikes which are the indication of activities directed toward changing the political system, rather than purely economic struggles.

Of course all the agencies of suppression are coming into play. Strikers are being clubbed by the police, and when they resist violence is attributed to them; eight strikers have been shot in two weeks. Many have been jailed. The Alabama coal strike, followed by the iron ore strike, may be cited as evidence. Two Negroes have been shot to death on the picket line and arrests are numerous. The President's declaration that it was not the intention of the N.R.A. to insure equal standards of living throughout the country, but that regional differences would be maintained, has given to the southern workers a reason for joining in the struggle which has hitherto not assumed the proportions of mass action in that part of the country. Moreover, the same tendencies are welding together white and Negro workers and bringing about unity of the working class to struggle for its own interests in contrast to the Fascist demand for unity of all

classes in the maintenance of the economic privileges of the owning class.

The question of the future of unionism is now puzzling the leadership of the American Federation of Labor. Having accepted so completely the National Industrial Recovery Act and the forms of its administration, clinging also to the old forms of craft unionism, as was evidenced in the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, the leadership is more and more cut off from the struggles of the rank and file, and more and more identified with the governmental policies and the industrial policies against which the new war of strikes is directed. Independent unions are arising at a pace, and an increasing minority of the workers are becoming conscious that the struggle is between the old economic system and the new social order, and not merely between workers and employers.

THE PHYSICAL GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHILD AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR MENTAL ATTITUDE AND BEHAVIOR

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THAT the physical state of the child was not the only and most important conditioning factor in the child's mental development and its mental attitude and behavior was recognized by early investigators and has become increasingly apparent with the development and expanding knowledge of psychiatry and all its related fields. That it is an exceedingly important factor, however, and one that warrants every possible exploration and effort to correlate it with normal and pathological mental state is, I believe, an accepted opinion today.

Prior to 1908 practically no professional techniques existed for detecting any but the dullest among human beings, people at the level of idiots and imbeciles. Then, within ten years came the outstanding contribution of Binet and his co-worker Simon. They developed the concept of general intelligence, regarding it from the aspect of its various functioning expressions or of the factors behind it. Binet established the fact that differences in stages of mental development, as represented by the performance of children at various ages, are closely connected with differences in intelligence as judged by responsible observers.

The modern mental testing movement sprang from the ideas advanced by Binet. There have been sixty-eight revisions of the Binet-Simon Scale. Terman's Stanford revision is the best known and most widely used in America. The psychiatrists, Healy and Fernald, in 1911 applied the tests clinically and were the first to point out the importance of the physical condition along with the intelligence rating.

The introduction of the nursery school in 1920 provided a testing laboratory which has proved useful and fertile beyond the most sanguine expectation and has made possible such outstanding contributions as those of J. Anderson and Goodenough, the group at the Merrill-Palmer School, Carr at the University of Chicago, and many others too numerous to mention.

In 1923 C. G. Jung of Zurich reported the formalization of the extroversion-introversion concepts as related to physical-body types. About the same time G. W. and F. H. Allport developed the genetic-social viewpoint in psychology. In this period fall also the development of John B. Watson's bizarre theories regarding behaviorism.

Within this decade began the splendid experimental work of K. Lashley and his group on the physiological dynamics of behavior and studies in the dynamics of behavior. The studies of Hartshorne and May under the direction of Thorndike of Columbia on the specificity of learning were made in the period from 1924 to 1929. More recently, especially within the last five years, the effect of specific environmental influences have been studied by the experimental method by Freeman of Chicago, Burke of California, and Lawrence in England.

The scientific psychologist of today attempts to study the subject in relation to all the forces which have been playing on his development. He not only considers the total background of the subject in so far as it is possible to get the facts, but, I believe, he tries also to be as objective and thoroughgoing as the natural scientist in interpreting these facts. He does not allow his personal feelings to color the issue. It is an intellectual, a rational, and not an emotional analysis which he makes of the data gathered.

Modern psychiatry had quite the same development. Various sources contributed to this growth stimulus: among them descriptive psychology which allowed for both physiogenic and psychogenic causation of aberrant mental behavior; Freudian and other psychoanalytical schools which stress the purely psychogenic, physiological psychology; behaviorism, the outgrowth of a combined physiological and psychological view-

point; psychiatric social work or the direct study of the environment and social forces; mental hygiene, both as a movement and as a force in setting up child-guidance clinics; pediatrics and child psychology where the source material recently is derived from intensive study of infants and very young children in the laboratory and nursery school; endocrinology or the control of constitutional deficiencies; and, finally, anthropology and study of the social cultural milieu in which standards of behavior, conventions, etc., are determined.

Regardless of whether the opinion of the psychiatrist is conservative or extreme, he has been forced to recognize that a large part of adult maladjustment is to be traced to early childhood. In his attempt to explain behavior the psychiatrist has gone directly to the child in the clinic, the school, the home, and the nursery. The intensive study of childhood has proceeded along experimental and therapeutic lines.

Psychoanalysis, the more recent discipline in the study of mental behavior and one that largely grew out of the development of modern psychology and psychiatry, does not at first thought seem to touch the mental problem of childhood, and yet it does in its wide ramifications reach back and root in this early period of life. How much of it has practical application to the period of infancy and childhood is still largely conjecture. Its chief exponents—Freud, Adler, Jung, Aichorn, and Klein—all have widely and sharply differing concepts about the common theme. Some of the Freudian deductions and postulations seem particularly bizarre and improbable, at least to an uninitiated and naïve pediatric mind.

The determination of normal growth and development and the knowledge of how to bring it about in the child, the recognition of all the factors, hereditary, constitutional, disease, or whatever else that may hinder it, is the province of the modern pediatricist. The last three decades have seen tremendous strides in this field. All the fundamental sciences have contributed to this development. It is through their contributions largely that we have gained knowledge of the potent dynamic factors which control and make for normal growth and development of the

child and have learned to understand better the causes and mechanisms which operate in the abnormal child or one afflicted with disability or disease.

To this must be added vastly improved technique in the diagnosis of disease and recognition of abnormal physical states in the child—and an ever increasing improved clinical management of the sick and the disabled child. The geneticist and biologist have thrown much light upon the hereditary factors which may influence and shape later developments of the child. The biometrist, under the leadership of men like Scammon and Todd, have given us mechanisms by which rate of physical growth of body structure and organs can be traced and measured with a degree of accuracy never before attained. The anatomist is daily revealing more about the intimate structure of the living cell. The contributions of physiology in this field are exemplified in the significant and epochal researches which have come from laboratories like those of Pavlov, Cannon, Carlson, and many others.

Biochemistry has explored the vast field of nutrition and the intricate mysteries of the metabolic processes, the delicate enzyme mechanisms, the physico-chemical behavior of the body fluids, the photo-dynamic effect of light on cell structure—in short, nearly every process or reaction or substance which directly or indirectly affects the growth, development, and well-being of the child.

No small factor in the great progress made in the accurate physical appraisal of the child has been the development of newer, better, and more accurate procedures in diagnosis; for example, the improvement in X-ray technique, delicate and highly sensitive tests both physical and chemical, vastly improved instruments of precision such as the microscope, the electrically illuminated diagnostic instruments, and others too numerous to mention.

Through the foregoing measures and a greatly enlarged clinical horizon the carefully trained pediatricist of today is in a position accurately to appraise the physical status of the child and to differentiate authoritatively between the normal and the ab-

normal in the physical make-up of the child. This great advance and development becomes important if viewed in the light of the very old concept, that mental growth and behavior are, to an unmistakable degree, conditioned by the physical state of the organism, its constitutional make-up, its normal or abnormal functioning, and the presence or absence of organic disease.

Medical opinion has always accepted this concept. The careful clinical observer cannot escape the impression that this relationship exists and manifests itself in obvious or subtle ways. There is no doubt about the constitutional factor—there is increasing certainty about the effect of normal or abnormal function of various ductless glands, and there is no question in the mind of the experienced clinician that organic disease, particularly if it seriously affects the nutrition of the child, reflects itself in inadequate mental performance and abnormal mental behavior.

Throughout the fabric of modern psychiatry and psychology runs the thread of this same concept. Thoroughly accepted by some psychiatrists and psychologists, it is hesitatingly and doubtfully accepted by many others because only vaguely understood, and completely denied by only a few.

Only in the last ten years have investigations been carried out to study the modifying effect on mental ability of changes in the physical structure of the individual due to conditions of health and disease, accident, depletion of necessary nourishment, growth, malfunctioning of organs, and other conditions or stimuli affecting physical development.

Up to a generation ago great stress was placed on the harmful influences on mental development of alcohol, certain drugs, diseased tonsils, malnutrition, and the like. Extensive propaganda was launched to combat these evils. Stunted mental growth was offered as an argument. In the last few years definite attempts to ascertain to what degree these factors harmed the mind brought out the interesting fact that the central nervous system seems to have a remarkable resistance to such onslaughts.

Paterson expresses the most forward look of the modern psy-

chologist in his statement that the carefully controlled conditions demanded in the scientific study of causation, the introduction of reliable tools of measurement, both of mental capacity and of the physical variable, the balanced reasoning of the trained investigator, the tendency to interpret only in the light of all possible complicating causes, have all helped to contribute to a better and surer knowledge and understanding of the physical influences on intelligence.

Some interesting studies have been contributed along the lines suggested by Paterson. It has been shown that as the intelligence quotient increases, the number of physical defects per child decreases. On the average, children of inferior ability tend to have a larger number of defects than children of average ability. In general, the better the physical state the more certain is the assurance of good mental traits.

An interesting study of the effect of malnutrition upon intelligence is reported by Blanton. His subjects were German war children who were suffering from extreme malnutrition. Surprisingly few of these children showed a marked lowering of the intelligence quotient. Children of inferior stock suffered more lowering of intelligence than did children of superior stock. For the inferior individuals a moderate degree of undernutrition was often sufficient to bring about a change.

How seriously infestation with a parasite may affect intelligence is shown by a study of Smillie and Spencer on the effect of hookworm on the intelligence of the host. They found that children with little or no hookworm affliction tested higher mentally than the more afflicted. The severest cases of hookworm were the dumbest on the mental test.

Instances of studies like the ones described could be multiplied. They need to be undertaken on a much larger scale, take in a wider scope, and be more critically controlled. The valuable background of sound medical opinion and guidance is lacking in so many of them.

To me it seemed that the psychiatrist and psychologist had

almost unlimited opportunity before them for promising investigation in practically a virgin field. Imagine my surprise when I saw the easy airy dismissal of this weighty question by a writer in a recent psychological publication. I quote:

On the basis of evidence submitted, it would appear that the public has been under a serious misconception in regard to the mental after effects of physical development, physical condition, diseases, accidents, and other such mishaps, with the exception of lesions, toxic infections and other injuries to the central nervous system. As measured by our present available mental tests, no serious mental changes have been found to follow somatic change outside of the central nervous system.

You will agree, I believe, that this important, and to most of us still enigmatic, subject is hardly settled with the ease and finality expressed above.

In our own fields of investigation on the physical growth and development of the child and the many factors—constitutional, glandular, disease, or otherwise—which affect it we feel that we have hardly scratched the surface. No one can acquaint himself with the fascinating researches of Professor Cannon on visceral and bodily changes which accompany such feelings as pain, fear, rage, hunger, and the function of the adrenal gland in governing these emotions or controlling such a paramount manifestation as body fatigue, but must be struck with the important bearing such manifestations and phenomena must have on personality, mental behavior, and general reaction to the environment.

The subject of constitutional types with peculiar mental make-up and mental behavior is an old concept in medicine, and one in which we thoroughly believe. We see these types defined even in early childhood. The psychiatrist Kretschmer clearly recognizes these types in his three main extreme types of body structure—the pyknic, fat rotund, the leptosomatic, thin asthenic, the athletic, and a fourth, the dysplastic, in which endocrine disturbance is the cause of grave disfunction both physical and mental. The mental make-up and behavior of these types is almost predictable.

The leptosomatic asthenic type furnishes the vast majority of

the behavior-problem children. Some investigation we are now carrying on in the clinic and laboratory seems to indicate that chronic fatigue is no inconsiderable factor in these cases and may explain a great deal of their poor performance and peculiar unstable mental behavior.

The ductless-gland problem and its relationship to physical and mental make-up and behavior is another limitless, almost uncharted sea. The effect of them individually or in combination, and whether functioning normally or abnormally, too much or too little, is mysterious, profound, and often most startling. In the experimental animal the most amazing transformation can be effected. In the biological laboratories of the University of Chicago, it has been possible through injection of a small amount of testicular extract to make ten-day-old chicks grow combs and wattles and attempt to crow like a grown rooster. Extracts from the pituitary gland injected into rats have made them grow to more than twice the normal size.

It has, of course, not been possible to duplicate such experiments in the human organism, but I believe they indicate in some measure the mysterious dynamic and powerful forces with which we are dealing when we consider the ductless-gland question in all its relationships to physical and mental growth and development in the human subject.

It is obvious that the psychiatrist, the psychologist, and the pediatricist are on common ground of interest in all of these fundamental problems. The solution of many of them will come only with united effort and intelligent mutual co-operation.

The pediatricist has much to contribute that will make understanding and interpretation easier and more authentic and creditable for the psychiatrist and the psychologist. It would probably go far to curb the excessive zeal and the weird theories, explanations, and interpretations put forward by extremists like Watson and members of the Freudian school and others of similar persuasion. I doubt whether any sane, thinking, judicial pediatricist could be found today who would agree with Watson on any of his preposterous pronouncements, or could develop

any sane understanding or remote belief in the Oedipus complex which Freud professes to see expressed in the child even at the most tender age.

The value of the close association of the psychiatrist, the psychologist, and the pediatricist in the same group either in the experimental laboratory or in the clinic is becoming increasingly recognized. In many of the foremost academic institutions and university medical centers this grouping exists. Such organization provides the proper setting for an effective approach and handling of the problem.

The accurate, painstaking physical appraisalment of the child so necessary, in my opinion, before either the psychiatrist or the psychologist takes a hand in the play is provided. Supplemented with adequate biometrical data, it provides them with an authentic background upon which they can project an intelligent interpretation, and correlate their findings with the physical inventory. I am confident that the research problems of today and of the future in this field will largely conform to this discipline and will find their best solution under it.

Another important factor is the practical management of the case. The program of correction, restoration, or repair is most successfully and intelligently handled in such an organization because a skilfully trained personnel can, and usually is, made a part of it.

Probably no person is more important in this personnel than the social worker. It is a key position from the beginning to the end. Women are singularly fitted for this particular work. The value of an intelligent, sensible, tactful, and judicial social worker to the pediatric and psychiatric clinic cannot be measured in words. She is finally trusted almost entirely with the usually prolonged follow-up supervision and management of the case.

Mens sana in corpore sano ("A sound mind in a sound body"): We all hope that we and our children have it. It is a goal for which everyone strives. That it is entirely possible for most of us to attain this goal is the promise of modern psychiatry, psychology, and pediatrics.

REORGANIZING LOCAL SOCIAL-WORK PROGRAMS UNDER PRIVATE AUSPICES

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SOCIAL work, under private and under public auspices, has too many interrelations to make either completely independent. The future of private social work depends to a large extent upon developments in public welfare administration. While the present partnership between federal, state, and local governments has given rise to a gigantic public welfare program, it is one which is largely confined to activity in the relief field. Deduct the tremendous relief service now under public control and the net result would show a public welfare development less than the total public participation of five years ago. Almost everywhere public provision for nursing service, mothers' pensions, recreational activities, child care, and health education has been diminished. Curtailed budgets, limitation of staff, and actual discontinuance of organized work are real or fancied necessities caused by lowering tax receipts. With the exercise of wisdom and caution, I am personally convinced that we are embarking upon an era of public control of welfare activities. Even so, the transition into this state of public control is today, and will be for many years in the future, far from complete.

Much has been said and written on the subject of the future place of the private social agency. Private social-work programs have never been so refined that they have gone much beyond the meeting of basic human needs on the part of a limited or a community-wide clientèle. With so much federal, state, and local money going into unemployment relief, it is doubtful if state welfare departments or their counterpart in local government will be able to meet as much, let alone more, of the load as they are now carrying for a good many years in the future.

CURSORY EXAMINATION OF CHILDREN'S WORK

If this prediction be true, I can see but little opportunity in private agencies—for instance, in the children's field—greatly to alter current practice. These agencies will try to limit their loads. They will seek to slip more children under public responsibility. They constantly will make an effort to better their standards. On the other hand, necessity will force them to be realistic, and they will probably continue to carry too many children, too little staff, and have neither time nor money to give proper attention to special problem cases which need their services so much. However one views the issue, the supporters of private agencies, whether these supporters be direct or indirect, large or small in number, will demand that all needy children be given care. With public funds in this field limited as they are, few children's agencies will be able to limit their intake and to develop the special kind of work which the agency and its supporters actually want to do.

We might as well face facts, and just so long as there is not enough money to take care of all of the dependent children, we are not going to be able to reorganize local private programs for child care any more rapidly than local conditions permit.

Where no public agency exists for care of dependent children, the intensity of the present situation should provide a basis to create such a public agency. I should hope that out of the conflict of a great need and too little money there might emerge such principles as the use of the public agency for children that need permanent care, and the utilization of private resources for children who need temporary care.

So serious are the limitations now being put on budgets of mothers' aid departments that there may be a substantial growth in subsidy to mothers' aid families by private relief agencies. Certainly this is a bad practice and one which is penalizing us from decent progress, but it is likewise a makeshift provision which is hard to stop. Reorganization of the children's field must take into consideration reinforcing the care of children in their own homes by more adequate public provision, but mean-

while those interested in children on either the public or the private side should and will see that children are cared for, and they will not be too particular what funds are used to provide that care.

I feel that one generalized nursing service under public control would be in the interest of public health. If one such service is not possible, then we might limit it to one under public control and one under private control, with some satisfactory division of the field. Today we find staff nurses being dropped from the public pay-roll and to load new functions on such a nursing service becomes impossible. With the need for nursing service constantly increasing, the job of the private agency has become one of meeting elemental need on a community-wide basis.

So strong becomes the urge to provide in some way for care of the sick that we see minority groups who have been successful in developing mental-hygiene programs to prove their worth, being threatened with the reduction of such facilities on the ground that they are not as fundamentally important as the care of dependent children or the nursing of the sick.

REORGANIZATION FOR RELIEF FIELD

The first duty, especially at this time, of a private welfare and relief agency is to bend every effort to see that there exists a well-equipped public department to look after family-relief work. If this actually is the primary responsibility of the private relief agency, there are but few places where it has as yet been fulfilled entirely. Perhaps sufficient progress has been made to suggest that a second responsibility is to set up a legal basis under which such public departments can function when the present emergency ceases to provide a basis for that operation. In other words, we are facing a serious transitional period because so many so-called public departments have a public status only through creation by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. Actually they are operating under an administrative rather than a legal provision.

This first responsibility may well never be completed. When

satisfactory progress has been made, the question arises: What of the private family agency? Do we need them? Cannot the new well-set-up public department serve this field? In my judgment the answer is: We do need the private family agency. It is wholesome to have private schools even though all children could attend the public school. Many new developments occur in private education that are of interest to the public body. New experiments can be tried, new standards created, new methods developed. While similar things can likewise be done in the public family agency, it is extremely helpful, as a matter of social policy, to have both groups well organized in as many centers as possible.

When it comes to a matter of how much relief the private agency shall dispense, I think we are in another phase of this question which is by no means so clearly understood. Sometimes I think it might be better if private family agencies of the future were set up on a case-working basis entirely divorced from relief operations. They could function as clinics of domestic relations, and deal with many and varied problems unrelated to the giving of relief, vitally important facilities thus far rather undeveloped. At other times I am convinced that the carrying-forward of the traditional private family agency which will deal with relief problems and have a limited relief budget is an essential to the best working-out of both public and private interests of the relief field. Perhaps this latter feeling is somewhat conditioned by knowledge that it is going to be increasingly difficult to raise money for the support of private social work. Certainly money-raising ability is not weakened by a reasonably substantial amount in the gross budget for direct relief. I am too old a hand at money-raising campaigns to have any sense of shame over the fact that we have always raised a good deal of money for research purposes, recreation needs, mental-hygiene programs, and other needful activities because people were under the impression that most of the money went for direct relief.

After all, fund-raising is not a campaign in moral ethics, but

is an effort to get money. Organizations raise money for what they consider to be good purposes. The real moral issue is whether the purposes are good and not whether the advertising is 100 per cent Simon-pure. For these reasons, when I think it would be best for private agencies entirely to get out of the relief field, I begin to think that in the long run they may have to stay in the relief field in order to give a well-rounded appeal in money-raising efforts. I know this statement may appear unprincipled and shockingly callous, but so long as I have to shoulder responsibility for fund-raising, I am not going to be academic about it because too much human need is at stake. I welcome experiments, and as soon as reliable new techniques are developed I will employ them.

Therefore, in reorganizing private family social work for the future, I am inclined to think it would be better judgment for some cities who think they could do so to place private family agencies on a nonrelief basis, turning over the relief problem in its entirety to the public department, and for other cities who would like to keep well-organized private relief agencies in operation to provide as liberal budgets as they can for this purpose. One of the reasons why I think this is a logical procedure is that in some communities public welfare provision in the form of relief will be fairly adequate and in other communities the reverse will be true. Many centers are now restricted by peculiar laws relating to nonresident dependents; the only thing which is saving the situation is the F.E.R.A., and even this sometimes does not suffice. If these regulations are later substituted for state law, the probability is that a good many cities will need a private agency to give relief to special-type cases.

Perhaps the only general conclusion I should like to draw in this field is that I believe there is a continuing place for the private relief agency. I believe its responsibilities should be lessened in the matter of relief budget and that efforts should be made slowly to place it on a case-work basis in a very limited relief sense. Also probably we should forget any ideas we have held that the day of private relief agencies is over and that we

have come completely under the flag of public welfare administration.

LIMITED SUBSIDY SERVICES

The tendency of the time is to drain large private income because of high taxes and the employment of more people at higher wages. I just do not see the great personal fortunes growing, and I have every reason to feel that many of them will quite rapidly diminish. This is not conducive to the philanthropy of yore, and for this reason if no other private agencies should be thinking in terms of what I call "limited subsidy social services." This idea must become the actuating principle of future private work. The immediate objective now is to devise ways and means of offsetting the need for large subsidy by income-producing devices. In this connection I think of the hospital situation. They are in a serious predicament and evidence indicates that the condition may grow worse instead of better. Those responsible for private social work should do something to improve it, because the hospitals need so great a subsidy they stand a good chance of getting the money at the cost of other needed social services.

At present local social-work leadership sits idly by waiting for the medical profession to meet the problem. I suppose like the most of us they, too, are a bewildered group of men. But, after all, their business is scientific medicine and not community organization. They make just as great a failure of our field as we would make of theirs. At present the situation could not be worse. Medical people feel we are stealing the money out of their pocket-books by giving free medical service and hospital care to a lot of people who could pay the bill. They envision limousines calling at the free clinics, and some even try to abolish any public provision at all for medical care.

On this front, private social resources might well do all they could to encourage the development of the group-payment hospital plan, which, even though it begins in a small way, has potential possibilities of a large character. The spirit of this

plan is payment for hospital service when one is well so as to have it available when one is sick. It seems to me that this might be extended indefinitely and give a fair degree of security to hospitals. If something like this plan cannot be accomplished, the deficits which are beginning to mount are going to make a serious bid for private philanthropy, and there will be less and less money for other enterprises. The answer is to get action to reduce the big subsidy services, or like the balloon with too much ballast we shall sink so rapidly it will constitute a crash.

RECREATION AS A LIMITED SUBSIDY SERVICE

We all want to see public recreation given as much impetus in the future as possible. Public playgrounds are a necessity. On the other hand, private initiative can do much in this field which cannot be accomplished entirely through public provision. I think the time is coming rapidly when people will grow tired of seeing school buildings so little used. They will demand, and they should receive the use of, school plants part of the time for recreation purposes. Eventually this might be done under the department of parks and playgrounds, but I think first some demonstration period will have to result. Capital investment might help out the situation materially, but there is enough equipment with which to begin. A low subsidy social service here might be developed that would literally bring thousands of children and adults into recreation opportunities. Much of this could be paid for on a membership basis, but a small investment would probably be required. I say we know this because experiments were made under C.W.A. which proved the case. Private agencies have a great recourse in the securing of volunteers, and some of this work might be done on a combination professional and volunteer basis.

For years I have been very doubtful of the future of the institutional programs for boys and girls. It seems to me that we have made great impetus with our national program agencies such as Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Camp Fire, Girl Reserve, and Hi-Y groups. The future opportunity in this direction lies in

the riddance of the expensive institutional equipment and the devoting of resources to operations with boys and girls on a non-institutional basis. With a fairly small outlay of private subsidy we ought to work toward the point of getting at least five thousand boys and girls per hundred thousand population in organized programs such as the five mentioned. If this must mean the sacrifice of a certain amount of book capital on some Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. buildings and their subsequent utilization for second-class hotels, I, for one, have no objections. This problem calls for speed, or soon they will go as third- or fourth-rate hotels with the only salvage to the banker who holds the mortgage. In passing I might also add that if the Salvation Army did more with its young people's work which it has already started and less with some of its other fields of operation, a more substantial contribution would be made and one which would be much more welcome to public welfare authorities and private social-work leaders and much more satisfactory to the Salvation Army.

Private agencies cannot remove their support from mental-hygiene programs they are now sponsoring. If they do, this very marked advance in social work made over the last decade will be lost. It is no longer an experimental service, but it is still not sufficiently deeply ingrained in the public welfare set-up so that private social work dare release its stake for a considerable period yet to come.

SOME GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

I should like a few specific things to stand out definitely as I close this paper. They are:

1. I have no doubt but what private social work must continue for many years in the future in spite of the fact that we are probably getting out of what has been called the community-chest era of social work into the public welfare administration era.
2. I think private social agencies probably must wage a desperate effort to keep their subsidies from private sources on as

high a level as they have been receiving in order to do their job.

3. I think the job of the private agency is first of all to plug up the holes left by work undone through public administration. Second, I think its job is to develop new relationships to new problems and to old.

4. As we look toward the future with probable lowering of the large incomes, we see a declining revenue for private philanthropy, and with this in mind private social work must develop what might be termed the operation of limited subsidy social services.

5. Inevitably limited subsidy social services cannot be developed exclusively for a dependent group because it presupposes a larger income from earnings. Therefore, private social work must embody the principle of helping the citizenship help itself.

6. Whether the preponderant leadership in social work for the next decade or two comes from the public or private field does not matter, but what is of concern is that the utmost possible co-operation be evidenced between the two groups and that there exist a conviction of the mutuality of interests and the willingness to strive for common purposes.

7. The principal job before both public and private agencies in the immediate future as respects reorganization is to give a sound legal basis to the present emergency set-up in the relief field and to see that its counterpart is carried into the basic law of both the state and the local government so that there may be possible a continuation of a partnership arrangement between the federal, state, and local governments.

8. The main task before private social work is to keep alive and to make more intelligent that wholesome citizenship interest which has been fairly well established during the last fifty years. One of the gravest dangers of public welfare administration is the possibility of bureaucratic development far removed from citizenship participation. It is the job of the private agency to see that this does not happen.

9. Better machinery for local planning must be perfected. I am discussing objectives in reorganization and not machinery to do it, but it should be remembered that a complete overhauling, if not an entirely new machinery, is essential.

CERTAIN SWEEPING OBJECTIVES IN PLANNING

Both public and private agencies should be sane and reasonable and objective. They should be conservative in their statements about social-work needs.

Slowly it might not be unreasonable to expect a public opinion convinced of public responsibility to meet human needs in all fields. It is undesirable that opinion should reach the point where it is taken for granted that the government owes all people a living. There must develop the more subtle distinction that the government must see that people have the opportunity to fit into an economic system. If such opportunity cannot be given, then public opinion must insist upon a sense of security being provided as a right by proper remedial measures.

With this proper public viewpoint which social welfare leadership should try to establish, there must be incorporated the theory that social work is no panacea for meeting human problems. It has very definite limitations.

Also citizens should understand that there are many enterprises which through private initiative they can make possible for themselves. Among the number are certainly types of recreation, educational opportunities, as well as many other services which they can provide on a community basis which is close to self-support. It is along these lines that private social work and its leadership might attempt to mold new programs. At the same time social leadership is carrying on this latter phase of the work, it must continue to give renewed vigor and renewed emphasis to keeping the publicly established social services close to the people with much citizenship interest and participation.

BASIC RESEARCH IN PLANNING SOCIAL-WORK PROGRAMS

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SOCIAL-WORK programs have changed rapidly during the last five years. Today they face new conditions and an uncertain future. The depression has focused attention on the social consequences of those economic changes which in many communities have brought to relief agencies a third or more of their populations. Social agencies have diverted their efforts toward the problems of unemployment, and after finding that the "emergency" was lasting longer than they anticipated, they are wondering when and how they can resume their old routine. Some are questioning whether the old order of social work ought to return at all. Contributors are somewhat fatigued from the strenuous drains on their emotions and pocket-books, for unemployment relief. Many of them are critical of particular agencies or even of social work as a whole. The New Deal program has revived a discussion of the proper division of labor between public and private agencies and has raised the question of whether fundamental economic reforms would not get at the roots of most distress and make social work unnecessary.

In this situation planning social-work programs is exceedingly significant. Upon the quality of such planning and the action to which it may lead the future of social work largely depends. If the programs of agencies are readjusted to meet the more important needs of the community in proportion to their respective opportunities to render effective service, the community will doubtless continue to support them.

Of course, the depression has only intensified the need for planning and co-ordination which arose as social work devel-

oped out of unorganized human kindness. Social work has jumped from the neighborhood relief society to the Federal Emergency Relief Administration; from the modest settlement house of two generations ago to the present elaborate hybrid of hotel, school, museum, and theater, and other institutions; from simple neighborly helpfulness to a hundred forms of specialized care. Innumerable councils, committees, and associations have arisen to tie together the disparate parts and to enable them to function with some degree of co-ordination. With this great growth and diversification of social service, planning on a community-wide basis became imperative and with it a fundamental community research program.

In simpler form, research and planning have always been part of the activity of many social workers, executives, and board members. The student of social-work history will recall maps, community studies, commission reports, collections of case records, and analyses of social problems which are evidence of such activity. These activities may and should continue. They lead to more effective administration and make a very real contribution to the larger community planning. However, these studies seldom go far enough to provide an adequate basis for planning programs from the standpoint of the whole community. The situation sketched at the opening of this discussion provides great opportunities for the exercise of a high order of statesmanship in planning social-work activities for the future in terms of the community's needs and the ability of social work to meet them. It also issues a challenge to social work to measure its effectiveness in actually achieving the result it sets out to secure. This test cannot be evaded indefinitely; social work should welcome it. Both in planning and in testing, social research can make an excellent contribution.

Granted the great need for basic research, toward what problems should it be directed and how should it be organized? The remainder of this paper will attempt a general answer.

Research should study needs, services, and organization. If social-work programs are designed to meet a wide variety of

needs in the community, and to do so in the most efficient and satisfactory manner it becomes necessary to determine how extensive these needs are and to what extent they are being met by existing agencies. It becomes relevant to inquire how the needs arise, whether they are increasing or decreasing, and how they are responding to treatment. Most of these matters are not known with sufficient detail and accuracy to permit precise planning. It is axiomatic therefore that several varieties of research are essential to any real planning of social-work programs.

The following classes of research may be recognized as essential to any thoroughgoing planning activity for the totality of a community's social-work program:

1. *Description and measurement of social conditions and needs.*—An agency may be thoroughly familiar with the number and characteristics of the persons it serves but quite uncertain as to how large a portion of the whole community problem they represent. When Miss Elizabeth Hall followed up the death certificates of middle-aged men in Philadelphia to find out how many left widows and children in need of assistance, she was measuring the need for mothers' aid and her findings could be used in planning the program of the mothers' assistance fund.

When Harry Hopkins came to the F.E.R.A., no one knew how many families were receiving unemployment relief, how many individuals were included, or what the characteristics of these families and their workers were, not to mention how far the program of emergency relief was actually reaching the group of families and individuals that needed it. The Division of Research and Statistics was organized to determine these facts, and through state and local relief officials and its own field staff (largely under C.W.A.) the Division conducted the first relief census ever taken in the United States. The Division's studies of rural and urban cases going on or coming off the relief lists, transient relief cases, and occupational characteristics may be expected to supply a very important factual basis for planning both federal and local programs. However, these studies are

only a beginning. Organized in haste, with a tremendous territory to be covered, spurred on by a need for quick returns and handicapped by a general lack of suitable personnel and adequate records, the Division would doubtless be the first to admit the meagerness of its results compared with the vast and relatively unexplored wilderness of human needs and the factors affecting them to which the planning of federal social-work programs must be addressed.

2. *Discovery of trends and prediction of future conditions and needs.*—It is probably more important to gauge trends than to measure the need for a particular service. A pragmatic trial-and-error approach may be made in administering programs to meet present needs, but planning for the future necessitates some anticipation of the changes which will occur. Unless this expectation is valid, the outcome of planning may actually be worse than that of working only from day to day with no thought of the future. Population studies in Pittsburgh, as elsewhere, reveal a decreasing number of young children and a continued rapid increase of the aged—two trends of tremendous significance for the plans of children's institutions, schools, relief agencies, and old-age pension systems. To build schools and orphanages in the expectation of a continuance of past rates of growth in the child population would be folly. Already the Pittsburgh Board of Public Education is planning to adjust its educational program to this population trend. Social agencies might show equal wisdom in anticipating the type and the amount of service that will be required to meet the needs of old age, and especially the large group which will not qualify for pensions under present regulations.

Trends in population movement within a city are highly significant for the proper location of settlements, clubs, playgrounds, and other centers. The future of Negro migration should be of considerable concern to social work. Economic trends in the location, growth and decay of industries, and occupational shifts are certainly of pre-eminent importance to relief agencies, vocational counselors, and community organiza-

tions generally. Forecasting and prediction are hazardous pursuits which have fallen into disrepute during the depression, but the necessity of planning ahead compels one to utilize all that research can provide in mapping future conditions and needs.

3. *Measuring available resources and the volume of service performed by existing agencies.*—A precise picture of needs is rather futile without the related picture of available resources with which they may be met. It is being suggested in many communities that all needs could be met fully if the funds devoted to a helter-skelter tangle of social services were expended in a properly planned program and if existing personnel and equipment were co-ordinated in like manner. Whether or not this view is sound, it is essential that planning proceed from adequate knowledge of the agencies at work, the service performed by each, and the aggregate service of each type which the community has at its disposal. To a considerable extent the system of monthly service statistics developed by the Association of Community Chests and Councils, the Russell Sage Foundation, and other organizations, which is now centered in the United States Children's Bureau, provides just this picture of available service in the fields it covers. However, the statistics usually refer to the number of persons and families served rather than the precise volume of service, in standard units, which the reporting agency has given to these cases. This type of statistics becomes absurd in the hands of some agencies which count each person entering the front door or each individual participating in the various activities, thereby arriving at a six- or seven-digit total of "aggregate attendance"—a figure which is more meaningful in relation to the wear and tear on the door and threshold than in terms of the service which the agency is organized to perform.

Research is badly needed to establish really meaningful units in terms of which it will be possible to measure service for planning purposes. No agency would arrive at its annual expenditures by adding the number of staff members employed, the number of postage stamps purchased, the number of bars

of soap used, etc. For financial purposes these items must be measured in terms of financial units of standard size or value. It is an ironic contrast in social work that organizations almost universally employ bookkeepers, accountants, and auditors to account for the funds they expend but they hesitate to employ competent social statisticians to account for the service they perform—the end toward which the funds are but a means. As contributors demand to know what the community receives for what it gives, and how much social service really costs, necessity will compel the development of adequate service accounting. And this will provide, somewhat as a by-product perhaps, a rich fund of material for social planning.

4. *Analysis of agency organization, policies, methods of work, and interrelationships.*—Given a fair picture of needs and available resources, it remains to determine how effectively resources are applied to needs. Does each agency have a cleancut function? Is its form of organization suitable and are its policies appropriate to effective performance of this function? Are its methods of work efficient? Is it properly related to other agencies for teamwork in meeting the whole catalogue of community needs? On all of these questions research may provide a necessary basis for planning the development and readjustment of social-work programs. This type of research has not been carried very far beyond the stage of common sense; indeed, it presents peculiar difficulties and requires creative effort of a high order. We have hardly begun to develop a real science of community organization. Fortunately, this is a field in which experimental studies and demonstrations are quite feasible. The procedure of mobilizing community resources carries a heightened value during an "emergency" period like the present, but it is of permanent importance.

Measuring the effectiveness of policies and techniques of agencies is an intriguing field of research at present relatively unexplored. The difference between foster-home care and institutional care of children should be susceptible to study. Glueck's study of juvenile-court cases seen by the Judge Baker Foundation illustrates both the possibilities of tracing the out-

come of social services and the difficulties in arriving at universally acceptable conclusions.

If social-work programs are to be administered in a thoroughly effective manner, therefore, it is essential that they be planned on a basis of adequate knowledge of (1) existing needs, (2) trends and changes in need, (3) available services and resources, and (4) the organization and functioning of the agencies of the community in applying resources to needs. This knowledge will start with the fund of experience which social work has accumulated, but it will require amplification, supplementing, and correction by the results of reliable social research.

How shall research be conducted to provide the necessary basis for planning social-work programs?

The experience of several communities would seem to support a number of principles which may be summarized here:

1. In a process of planning, research is only one of several steps. It should be preceded by discussion and exploration sufficient to delimit a field or problem to be studied, to produce agreement that it should be studied, and to result in a measure of willingness to accept and follow out in action such valid conclusions as the research project may produce. Too often a study is conceived in vague enthusiasm and born prematurely, only to die of neglect and malnourishment and to be interred in a file or on a shelf where it will be soon forgotten. Given serious and virile planning, the research phase will be sturdy too. The planning need not be a large-scale affair—it may be concerned with budgets, a proposed building operation, increasing or training a staff, or establishing a new department. So long as the problem is being considered seriously and in relation to the community's needs, it will almost inevitably raise questions and require information which research activity may provide.

2. A community should understand that good research requires time and technical skill beyond that which agency executives and staff members usually can bring to it. It also proceeds best by a process of accumulating results, building one study upon another, and developing in a central source materials

and tools which are useful to a considerable number and variety of separate investigations. This leads to the employment of one or more persons who are trained and experienced in research and to the establishing of a research bureau or department in some organization which represents the community—a public welfare department, university, council of social agencies, or community chest. It is as unreasonable to expect research to be an incidental activity of a busy executive or staff member as it is to expect the same of printing the annual report or removing tonsils. Yet organizations that are willing to pay standard rates for other professional services have attempted to buy research over the bargain counter—and they have frequently received shoddy goods.

3. While separate research personnel and facilities are desirable, this does not mean that directors, executives, and committee members are to come to a little window with an order and reappear months later to receive a neatly wrapped package to dispose of which then becomes their duty. Research must involve considerable co-operative interplay between producer and consumer. Indeed, an intelligent, interested clientèle is essential to the usefulness of research. One great advantage in placing social research in a council of social agencies is that this provides opportunities for educating people in the use of research and co-operating in community planning. Not every study need be made by a research bureau—many valuable studies may be undertaken, as in the past, by professional social workers and laymen, especially if they have the benefit of consultation with research experts. Out of such studies there may grow larger projects of wider community significance to be undertaken by a special research organization.

4. A great deal of the work involved in research will probably continue to be performed by social agencies in the course of their regular activities. Research bureaus must depend upon the case-record material, agency statistics, and other data recorded, if not assembled, by each agency for its own work. Usually these materials are produced for other uses than re-

search. Conclusions drawn from such by-product records are seldom any more reliable than the records themselves. The research investigator who really inquires as to the quality of his data for research purposes is usually headed for a disappointing but healthy experience. If high-grade research is to be had as a basis for planning social-work programs, social agencies must correct and improve their record systems to meet the more exacting requirements of the use to which they will be put.

5. Finally, the burden of interpreting and applying the results of social research must be borne in part, but only in part, by the research personnel. The application of knowledge to the solution of problems is not always a simple, straightforward procedure. It frequently requires all that the skill and viewpoint of the expert can add to the skill and viewpoint of the administrator, professional worker, and board member. In their mutual consultation a better-integrated result may be obtained. The research expert may be more keenly aware of the limitations of his product and may prevent an indiscriminate use of conclusions applicable only to a limited class of situations. All parties should be ready to reconsider their conclusions in the light of the developing discussion. In such a relationship research may be made a very effective basis for the administration and planning of social work.

This discussion started by indicating that in a humble way research and planning have been part of the practice of social work from the beginning. The magnitude and complexity of social work today and its greater concern with basic social factors and economic processes, as well as with planning for the whole community, call for separate research activity by a specially qualified personnel provided with ample facilities. In relation to planning, however, it is essential that moderately intimate contacts be maintained between segregated professionalized research and the rest of social work. In such a relationship the promising results of research at its present somewhat immature stage of development will be greatly augmented to the benefit of every community which has sufficient foresight to seek this basis in planning its social-work program.

THE NEW DEAL FOR THE ALIEN

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THE New Deal for the immigrant does not mean letting down the bars to immigration. There is not the slightest sentiment that I have been able to discover, and this includes the racial and alien groups, for any departure from the present policy of restrictive and selective immigration. Nor does the New Deal for the alien involve any coddling of the criminal or undesirable alien. Rather, as I will indicate later, the New Deal, in so far as the criminal alien is concerned, means a more strict and effective enforcement of measures for his elimination. To the worth-while alien, however, whose character and conduct indicate his desirability as a citizen, the New Deal means a more sympathetic and humane consideration of his problems and a spirit of friendliness and helpfulness rather than one of antagonism and persecution.

Our program for the past year has had three phases: (1) the determination of facts; (2) such administrative measures as were necessary to remedy unsatisfactory conditions; (3) the preparation of legislative proposals with a view to strengthening the hands of the enforcement officers in dealing with the criminal and otherwise undesirable alien and to remove some of the most cruel and unnecessary hardships involved in the administration of the present laws.

Investigation of existing conditions.—We have twice during the past year brought together the district directors of immigration and other keymen of the service from all over the country and have encouraged them to discuss freely, frankly, and without coercion every aspect of their work. They have submitted

many recommendations which have enabled marked improvements in our administrative policies and procedures.

To obtain an outside point of view the Ellis Island Committee was appointed. In its selection every effort was made to find men and women who would approach the problem from the standpoint of national welfare and without racial, religious, or political bias. The Committee had the benefit of the consulting services of a group of experts in immigration and naturalization who have made service to the alien their lifework.

The report of the Committee was noteworthy for its impartiality and its thoroughness. Many of the recommendations they made have been incorporated in the legislative program submitted to Congress.

We have also brought together a group of educators and social workers representing a number of the great national agencies. They have discussed in great detail with the technicians of the service the problems of naturalization, and have developed a spirit and a plan of co-operation which has already proved to be of great value.

Through these various conferences and investigations by representatives of the service we were enabled to obtain a fairly accurate picture of conditions with respect to the administration of both the immigration and the naturalization laws.

Administrative measures.—Perhaps the most important administrative change during the past year has been the consolidation of the immigration and naturalization services. This has permitted material economies in operation and, perhaps most important, has enabled the establishment of uniform policies and procedures for both branches of the service.

The merger has been one in fact as well as in name. Men of the immigration service are now performing many of the duties of naturalization examiners, and those of the naturalization force now are authorized to do the work of immigrant inspectors, conduct examinations, and serve as members of boards of special inquiry.

We found that the great majority of the staff were persons of

good character, loyal and devoted to their duty. There were, however, a considerable number who were, by character or temperament, unfitted for the responsible and quasi-judicial duties they were called upon to perform. There were also a much larger number who were found to lack proper training for their work.

The entire technical force was examined by impartial, non-partisan boards, and those found to be unfit were eliminated in the course of the reorganization. Those found to lack proper training were, if they showed promise, given an opportunity to qualify themselves for permanent appointment.

A course of lectures on immigration and naturalization law has been given throughout the country during the winter and spring months, has brought about much greater uniformity in the interpretation and administration of the law, and has been of great value in the training of the force. The lectures have also been made available to educators and social workers in this field.

The reform of administrative procedure, if to be effective and permanent, must be largely a matter of detail. We have, so far as time and available personnel have permitted, studied each detail of our practice, and have effected such improvements as were possible without changes in the law. One instance will serve to indicate the approach to these administrative problems.

We found that persons desiring re-entry permits were required to make two personal appearances before an immigrant inspector. On examination it was determined that one personal appearance would serve and the regulations were thereupon changed to eliminate the second. These matters are small in themselves, but in the aggregate they make all the difference between a bureaucratic, burdensome, and oppressive system and one that is helpful, sympathetic, and comparatively simple in its operation.

The searches and seizures without due process of law which formerly brought so much criticism upon the service have been stopped. An end has also been put to the practice of arrest

without warrant and for the most part the results have been satisfactory, although on the borders we have found that it has resulted in the loss of many aliens who would otherwise have been apprehended. We, however, have recommended certain legislation which will improve conditions in this respect.

There has been a continuous investigation of the practices of extortioners and others preying upon the alien. This is, of course, something which is very difficult to eliminate, but we are getting together a mass of information and data which cannot fail to be of assistance in curbing such activities. Special attention has been paid to the deportation of criminals, and there is evident a substantial increase in the percentage of such deportations to the total deportation during the year.

There has been an intensive drive against alien smuggling, particularly from Cuba, where there are thousands of aliens who have gone there in the expectation of effecting an illegal entry into the United States. We cannot, of course, pretend that we have been completely successful, but we have certainly reduced the alien smuggling from Cuba to negligible proportions.

Steps are being taken also to strengthen the control over alien smuggling along the Canadian and Mexican borders, one of the most important and effective of them being the placing of local units of the border patrol under the supervision and control of the local district directors of immigration and naturalization. This has permitted better co-ordination and much more effective work.

There has been a marked improvement in the spirit of the service, and a growing realization on the part of its representatives in the central administration and in the field that the designation of our organization as a *service*—means just that, and means that it is one assigned to help and assist the worthy alien.

Prosecutions are, of course, an inevitable incident to our work, but it has been impressed upon the inspecting and examining forces that their functions are largely judicial in their nature, and that it is not sufficient to develop all facts adverse

to the contention of the alien, but that they must likewise ascertain and present to the proper authorities all facts which have a favorable bearing on his case.

There has been a rigid insistence on courteous and considerate treatment of those, whether citizens or aliens, with whom we come into contact. The results of these policies have been exceedingly satisfactory.

A year ago we received practically nothing but complaints with reference to the manners, methods, and procedures of immigration and naturalization officials. Today complaints are practically unknown and, on the contrary, we are in constant receipt of letters of commendation and thanks for the action of our men in the field, or in the central administration, with respect to individual cases. In one recent batch of such letters I found two from men who had been deported thanking the service for the courtesy and fairness of the treatment accorded them.

One of the significant developments of the past year has been that of co-operation with social and welfare agencies. Their advice and assistance have been invited and welcomed, and the results of this co-operation have, I believe, been mutually satisfactory.

Legislative remedies.—The laws governing immigration have been found to be sufficiently flexible to permit of a drastic reduction in the number of immigrants coming to this country during the past few years, when it has been of the utmost importance that there should be no influx of foreign labor to add to our unemployment problems. These laws have, however, been found to be unsatisfactory and inadequate in two respects: they do not permit of the deportation of some of the worst types of alien habitual criminals, while on the other hand they are so unyielding in certain of their provisions as to cause great and unnecessary suffering to persons of good character, and frequently to those who are entirely innocent of any wrongdoing.

Our legislative program has been designed for the correction of these two evils. We have recommended to the Congress that

we be given the authority to deport aliens who have committed two or more crimes involving moral turpitude if the secretary of labor finds the deportation to be in the public interest. This is an entirely new provision in the law and is in addition to the present provisions dealing with the mandatory deportation of criminal aliens. We found that the alien who is smuggled into the country may be deported, whereas the alien who smuggles him in may not, and have urged that the alien who smuggles others into the country shall himself be subject to deportation.

Under the interpretation of the law, carrying concealed weapons is not a crime involving moral turpitude. We have recommended that, for the purposes of the immigration laws, carrying or possessing concealed or dangerous weapons shall be construed as a crime involving moral turpitude. This should enable the deportation of many dangerous alien criminals. We have also recommended that the deportation provisions of the present law with reference to alien violators of federal narcotic statutes be extended to include alien violators of state statutes.

We found that the preference in immigration given to skilled agriculturists was being abused, and it was moreover evident that under present conditions, with a surplus of agricultural products and agricultural labor, there was no warrant for encouraging the introduction of alien agriculturists, so we have recommended that the existing agricultural preference be eliminated.

We have also urged that a law be enacted providing a penalty upon steamship companies bringing stowaways to this country, with the proviso that, if the companies co-operate with the department in the apprehension and return of the stowaways, the fines may be remitted in whole or in part. These various proposals, if enacted into law, should materially strengthen the hands of the officers of the government in dealing with the undesirable alien.

To take care of the cases in which the operation of the law results in cruel and unnecessary hardship we have recommended

that a severely limited power of discretion be given to the secretary of labor. No discretionary power whatsoever has been requested with reference to the criminal or immoral classes, or to those groups covered in the various laws dealing with anarchists, or with those who advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence. The only groups to benefit by such discretionary power are the following: persons who have been admitted to the United States for permanent residence but who, through some technicality, have rendered themselves liable to deportation; persons who have resided continuously in the country for ten years or more; children who were brought into, or entered, the country under sixteen years of age; persons who have near relatives residing in this country; and persons who give evidence of value to the government in the prosecution of our immigration and naturalization laws.

The principal purpose in recommending discretion with reference to these groups is the protection of the family unit. It has been found that the deportation of those included in these groups results in leaving behind in the United States a much larger number of American citizens and legally resident aliens, most of whom are dependent upon the deportees for their support, and who, on the deportation of the breadwinner, must in most instances become charges on the state.

We have also recommended that the Registry Act be amended to permit the registration of persons who have resided continuously in the United States for ten years or more. This will take care of the large group who are not now eligible to citizenship, but who cannot be deported either because they have a legal status which prohibits their deportation or because they have no country to which they can be deported.

There is also the very much smaller group, but nevertheless one to be considered, of those whose deportation would result in their being subjected to racial, religious, or political persecution in the countries of their origin. It has been the constant policy of our government for many years not to force the deportation of those subject to such persecution. The proposed

amendment will adequately take care of the problems presented by this group.

Our insistence upon a ten-year period of residence before registry will give us ample opportunity to determine whether they are in fact desirable citizenship material and whether, in the case of those alleging persecution, the persecution is real and permanent and not merely a local and temporary matter.

The proposals we have made to the Congress involve no departure from our policy of restrictive and selective immigration. They do not let down the existing bars against immigration in any respect. As a matter of fact, it has been provided in the proposed bills that any quota alien permitted to remain shall be charged against the quota of his nationality.

They will, however, have the effect of enabling the deportation of many of the most undesirable aliens who are now able to escape through the loopholes in the present law and will, at the same time, remove some of the harsh and senseless cruelties which have characterized the administration of these laws in the past.

OUR ILLUSIONS REGARDING GOVERNMENT

PUGSLEY AWARD

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THE last five years have brought social workers face to face with two major issues—the economic system and the political system. The need for relief on a mounting scale has been the symptom of the crisis in industry and agriculture, which have been unable to maintain employment and have steadily cut the earnings of those who still remain employed. To the political system social workers have turned as the source of funds needed for the relief which private social agencies can no longer provide. In the recent Conference on Governmental Objectives for Social Work, under the auspices of the American Association of Social Workers, the declaration was made in the recommendations that “government is the only effective instrument for the social use of our national wealth.”

With this as a cornerstone, the Conference then committed itself to this program:

We believe that this is the time for the creation of a permanent, comprehensive, well-co-ordinated and adequate system of welfare services, so conceived as to assure ourselves, as a people, against the common hazards of our economic and social life, such as are inherent in unemployment, old age, widowhood, sickness or other factors which interfere with the normal processes of self-maintenance.

Social workers thus stand committed to a program involving a definite concept of confidence in government as a social agency able to function effectively for such a program in the present economic system. Moreover, such a commitment is not even qualified as one of “principle.” The present administration of welfare services by the federal government was indorsed by the Conference in these words:

The Conference in addressing itself to the problems of governmental objectives for social work wishes to pay tribute to Congress and to the federal administration for recognizing its obligation to meet the needs of people in this emergency on a national basis, for thus developing for the first time a national system of aid to families and individuals, for special recognition of federal responsibility for service to transients and for bringing unemployment relief up to a more nearly adequate level.

Not only is this high tribute paid to Congress and to the present administration, but social work identifies itself completely with the methods followed, in these words: "In carrying out this program, we believe the best traditions and experience of social work have been utilized."

Not wishing to limit its praise to the relief program, the Conference included the whole economic and relief set-up of the present emergency, declaring: "The Conference more especially pays tribute to the courageous and ingenious social thinking represented by such programs as the N.R.A., the N.R.S., F.E.R.A., the C.C.C. and the C.W.A."

Thus through this Conference the professional association of social workers has committed itself to identification with the present administration, to indorsement of what it supposes its principles to be, and to hope for an adequate program of social work under government auspices. This position is a departure from the past, in which the dominant type of American social work, particularly in those phases concerned with relief, has tended to be private and voluntary rather than governmental. This in itself makes desirable an examination of the fundamentals of this shift. But the really important question is not whether social work is changing its base from private to governmental sources, but whether this reliance upon government commits social workers to the preservation of the *status quo* and separates them from their clients, leading them into the position of defense of the politicians in their effort to protect political institutions against the strain put upon them by the failures of industry to maintain employment, and by the industrial policy which seeks to sustain profits at the expense of standards of living.

May I suggest at the outset two theories of government, and then examine them in the light of the relief program, judged in its economic aspects rather than from the point of view of the technique of social work?

The theory which has largely dominated the political programs of social work is that government stands above conflicting interests and in a democracy can be brought, by majority vote, to decide between those conflicts and compel standards and policies which are in the public interest. The program advanced by Sidney and Beatrice Webb in Great Britain, based upon the idea of a national minimum in the industrial field, is derived from the theory that a law can be passed and administered which will more or less equalize the inequalities in the present distribution of wealth and establish a basis below which wages and other conditions of employment affecting the standards of living of the working class are not allowed to fall.

Social workers in America have played with this kind of a national minimum standard in much less comprehensive form than the British program. A group in the Industrial Division of the National Conference of Charities and Correction in Cleveland in 1912 put forward a legislative program which became part of the platform of the Progressive party. The reasons for failure to achieve the program were discussed twelve years later, in 1924, in the Industrial Division of the National Conference of Social Work at Toronto; and at Philadelphia in 1932 an analysis was made of these failures.

This is not the place to discuss this subject. But briefly it should be recalled that, though the Progressive party adopted the social workers' program as its own, in general social workers as a group have not committed themselves to any party. Their attitude in the past has been essentially non-partisan. Seeing the end results of evils in the industrial system, certain branches of social work have tended to concentrate their techniques of adjustment within the prevailing environment; while others have sponsored a somewhat piecemeal reform program, hopeful of its equal chance for incorporation in the platform of any party—

all based upon the idea that once a law could be secured it would become a law for the whole people, administered by a government representing the people.

Another theory of government is tenable and should at least be considered in the light of American experience; for if it is true, it raises danger signals of momentous importance in the decisions of social workers and their program for the United States today. This theory is that government essentially is dominated by the strongest economic power and becomes the instrument to serve the purposes of the groups possessing that power. To put this in terms familiar in American discussions, government tends to protect property rights rather than human rights. A legislative proposal which lays burdens upon property—such as workmen's compensation, reduction of hours of work, minimum wage, or unemployment insurance—is resisted at every point in the effort to enact it into law. This needs no elaboration. The experience of social workers is too clear.

If such a law is enacted, its administration is constantly in jeopardy through the pressure of property interests. Courts may declare it unconstitutional; the legislature may refuse proper appropriations; administrators may be bought; or at best the law may be merely a concession designed to prevent more far-reaching demands by the workers.

Such a theory of government is derived from a prior analysis of the interests of the community. If all groups in the community have common interests, then the government which administers those interests will have united support. If, however, there be conflicts of interest between groups in the community, and if those conflicts relate to the functions of government, then the community is necessarily a house divided against itself. The government will then represent the strongest power and will develop instruments of defense of that power—army, navy, militia, and police.

The basic conflict of interest between labor and capital is too clear to need proof here. The strikes of the past year demonstrate it as an immediate, contemporary problem. Our illusions

regarding government arise out of a refusal to recognize these conflicts. They assume that the government is above the struggle and that if social workers can win the government to their program they will have done their part in establishing that elusive thing called "social justice." The test of whether these are illusions is now being made before our eyes, and the unfolding of the relief program is the illustration to be used here.

If we examine the relief program from the point of view of the second theory of government—government controlled in the interest of the strongest economic power and prevented from functioning in the public interest by the conflicts arising in the economic field—we are obliged to recognize three conflicting interests in any effort to use government as (in the words of the Washington Conference of Social Workers) "the only effective instrument for the social use of our national wealth." Capital, wishing to maintain the profits and the share of wealth claimed by private owners, resists taxation and not only demands curtailment of social services in the government, but in manifold ways demands the suppression of the workers' struggle. The workers, on the other hand, contending for a living, demand the right to organize and bargain collectively for the protection of the wage scale. The political administration, wishing to maintain itself in power, must judge accurately where its power lies. It cannot control production or distribution of wealth. It must, on the contrary, meet the demands laid upon it to protect property. It wishes, however, to retain the votes of the workers, and a clever politician knows that political institutions must be protected against the rising discontent of the unemployed and the poorly paid workers. The terms of the problem of political leadership may be compared to the engineer's problem of resistance to strains. The political question is: How far must government yield to the demand for change in the *status quo* in order to maintain the *status quo*?

The relief program is the thermometer representing the political leadership's diagnosis of the effectiveness of the demands of those who need relief. Social workers happen to belong to the

profession which is charged with the task of administering relief. Social workers therefore are drawn into the maneuvers to maintain status and power in the three-cornered conflict of interest between those who own and control the economic system; the workers, who are claiming their right to a livelihood in an age of plentiful production; and the government, which has always most closely identified itself with property rights.

I am not unmindful that the American Association of Social Workers in 1931, moved from its professional isolation, busy with the maintenance of professional standards, educational requirements, and the like, took up the problems of relief, appointed a commission on unemployment, and took an active part in organizing the Senate hearings on unemployment relief in December of that year. Those hearings are in themselves evidence that social workers were ready to fulfil the function of informing the community of the needs of their clients. But if one accepts the fact that we may have illusions regarding government, one may say with some cynicism that the social workers were helping the politicians to see just how far it was necessary to go in yielding to the demands of the needy in order to protect both the political and the economic *status quo*.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to analyze the history of the relief program. I merely wish to refer to what I regard as the two significant points in that program in the past year, namely, the inauguration of the Civil Works Administration and its abandonment.

On November 15, 1933, President Roosevelt, addressing the Civil Works Conference delegates, declared that during the preceding eight months the United States had had a larger proportion of unemployed than any other country, and that in the plan for the winter, recognizing how many were still unemployed, aid would be extended to the many who were "too proud to go and ask for relief." "We want to help that type of American family," said the President.

A little more than three months later, on February 28, the President made public a new unemployment program, demobi-

lizing civil works, declaring that the ordinary system of relief is "repugnant to American ideals of individual self-reliance" (forgetting those who in November were to be sought out because they were "too proud to go and ask for relief") and setting up a work program which "will be confined to those needy unemployed who can give adequate return for the unemployment benefits which they receive."

The program was designed to meet the "peculiar needs" of three groups, pictured in the *New York Times* of April 1, as the "stranded area," the "city bread line," and the "poverty farm." This was the journalistic translation of the President's classification into

1. Distressed families in rural areas
2. Those composing "stranded populations," i.e., living in single-industry communities in which there is no hope of future re-employment, such as miners in worked-out fields
3. The unemployed in large cities

As an economist in social work I would comment here not upon the principles of relief embodied in these classifications but rather upon the economic philosophy. Clearly the President is accepting the existence of these three groups as problems of relief instead of as problems for thoroughgoing change in the economic system which has produced them. "Distressed families in rural areas" call for an agricultural program more fundamental and more sound than the destruction of crops. "Stranded populations" are evidences of the failures of industry, and it is incumbent upon us to demand that the government recognize that the miners in need of relief are not stupid, immobile individuals who remain "in worked-out fields," but active, intelligent workmen who happen to be attached to an industry overdeveloped in quest of profits, and they remain near rich veins of coal, in which, however, employment is given on an average of not more than two-thirds of the working year, even in prosperous times. The coal industry registers the failures of industry and government alike to manage the economic system in this country, and it is no solution to accept as permanent a status

for miners as a "stranded population" for which "there is no hope of future re-employment" in their own industry and to transplant them to "subsistence homesteads" which only tend to increase the difficulties in rural areas.

This lowering of standards of living is the Fascist way out—the efforts of capitalism to maintain itself intact and to utilize for that purpose the institutions of government to prevent the discontent which would otherwise change both the economic system and the political system. The President's proposals for work relief for the needy and for permanent acceptance of the classification of "stranded" for the miners should dispel social workers' illusions regarding the promise for fundamental economic reconstruction under the New Deal.

The President's statement of the new relief plan was made just eleven days after adjournment of the Washington Conference where the social workers formulated their "governmental objectives." It is good to know that the recommendations of the Conference had gone far beyond this relief program of the administration and had called for adequate cash relief and continuance of a "federal employment project" which should be based on "qualifications for employment and not on need"; opposed the program already announced for demobilization and termination of the Civil Works Administration; and committed social workers to a campaign for attainment of the recommendations.

Nevertheless the high tribute paid to Congress and the administration just eleven days before this announcement by the President does not speak well for the social workers' ability to read the signs of the times in economic and political programs. It is my contention that failure to read these signs is due to illusions regarding government, and that these are especially marked in the social workers' acceptance of the economic program of the New Deal.

In other words, the experience would suggest that social workers need more decisive formulations of their purposes and more aggressive action toward their attainment, and for both of

these a closer association with the workers' groups than with boards of directors and governmental officials would give that vitality to social purpose which comes out of the genuine experience of life of the underprivileged. These, to be sure, are the clients of social workers, but it is easy to become too professional in one's dealings with clients and to fail to achieve the sense of fellowship which social workers must attain if they are to take part in the struggle for human rights. The delusion that human rights are attainable without struggle, through the processes of government or through the simple administrative decision of a governmental official, is responsible for weak programs and ineffective activities, of which the whole history of social workers' organized relation to federal legislation for relief gives evidence. The culmination is in the most recent declaration of the President, in his message to Congress on May 15, calling for a wholly inadequate appropriation by Congress, with such lack of clarity in lumping together appropriations for public works and for relief as will inevitably lead once more to the danger of appropriating funds for battleships instead of cash relief for the unemployed.

This is not the place to discuss the economic program of the New Deal. But in its bearing upon the relief program of the government this much must be said: The program has been directed toward the loaning of large sums of money to industry, thus protecting as far as possible the claims of property upon the economic system; while, on the other hand, the government has found no way to distribute purchasing power to the workers.

A clear method of distributing purchasing power is comprehended in the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance bill, introduced in the House as H.R. 7598. This bill would cover for the whole period of their unemployment all who are unemployed through no fault of their own; it would pay the average prevailing wages of the locality, or a minimum of ten dollars a week with three dollars for each additional dependent; it would derive funds not from taxes on pay-rolls but from taxes on higher incomes, inheritance, and gifts; and it would put ad-

ministration into the hands of representatives of the workers themselves.

The Wagner-Lewis bill, in contrast, which has received the support of the administration and also of the American Association of Social Workers, is not an unemployment-insurance bill at all, but a revenue act which would tax pay-rolls of corporations in the hope that no tax would be collected, since the tax would not be payable if an unemployment-insurance law should come into effect in accordance with certain specified standards applied by the secretary of labor, with the basic principle always that the charge for unemployment insurance is a charge upon costs of production. This, in the last analysis, is the kind of tax which on the one hand keeps wages down and on the other hand is passed on to the consumer and thus results in higher prices.

The Wagner-Lewis bill would not begin collecting taxes until July 1, 1935. The money would not become available until the following year, and then it would merely go into the federal treasury and not to the unemployed. It would be a tax to be remitted as a reward to corporations in states in which in the meantime unemployment-insurance laws had been enacted.

Workers in large numbers of unions included in the American Federation of Labor, as well as independent unions and fraternal societies of various kinds, not only refuse to support but actually oppose the Wagner-Lewis bill and campaign for the Workers' bill, which, however, has not received the support of either the administration or the social workers.

The reason for support of the Wagner-Lewis bill by the committee of the American Association of Social Workers reporting upon it is that it

might be endorsed for the reason that it appears to be the most immediately effective federal measure to encourage state legislation setting up reserves of insurance for compensation to the unemployed. It is not to be considered as fulfilling the requirements for adequate federal legislation on this subject, but should be supported as an interim measure on the basis that the present temper of the Administration and Congress does not promise more comprehensive legislation and that the bill would not be an obstacle toward a more

broadly conceived program if the attitude of the Administration and Congress were to tend in this direction.

I cite this action of the committee of the American Association of Social Workers not so much because I differ with its faith in the Wagner-Lewis bill, but because the grounds of its support indicate its attitude toward government and the administration. Apparently social workers are to adopt as legislative technique a careful study of "the present temper of the administration and Congress," instead of working out principles and then finding the way to secure the action necessary to enact them into law.

While using these concrete illustrations of a more or less unconscious acceptance of government, I would prefer to discuss the subject in broader terms, for to me it is of tremendous importance that the whole body of social workers should be clear-sighted in this present crucial period. A non-partisan attitude toward political programs at a time when the issue is drawn as sharply as it is today may turn into essential partisanship, namely, defense of the *status quo*, and the programs of a previous decade which were intended to effect change can now be turned into obstacles to change. When they are put forward and supported by social workers, they may actually delude industrial workers and the general public in a false confidence that welfare services can be devised without change in the economic system.

This is not to say that no immediate steps are to be taken. It is highly important that social workers should regard themselves primarily as serving their clients and indeed sharing with them in the status of workers in American society. It is in the professional organization that we social workers may think ourselves clear of our entanglements with the separate agencies of social service; define our goals, examine the foundations, and reach our own clear decisions as to whether capitalism, private ownership, and profit-making are to be retained, or whether the resources of this country are to be utilized in a socialized,

planned economy for the raising of standards of living and the establishment of security of livelihood of the people.

We should bear in mind the recent terrible experience in Germany. It may be said that the Social Democratic party in its legislative program came close to the reform program of American social work. Faith in this program diverted the attention of many of the Social Democrats and social workers of Germany from the necessity for change in the fundamental sources of power. Thus the way was paved for a change to a dictatorship supported by the dying capitalism of Germany under the guise of National Socialism, which leaves profit-making unchanged and uses the instrument of government for the maintenance of the economic *status quo*.

Social workers are accepting important positions in various branches of government in this country. Those of you who believe that that is the way you can best serve must look well to the significance of the mass protests which are disturbing your working hours. Will social workers continue to bear the brunt of these protests against politicians in their alliance with the property interests of the community, or will social workers rather look upon themselves as spokesmen for these protests, refusing to aid in putting up defenses for the *status quo* against the inevitable and necessary demands of those who suffer?

A clearer view will inevitably lead to some refusals to take governmental positions if these demand, as many do, that social workers in governmental positions will serve as apologists for the government of the day. The record so far seems to me to be confused. The New Deal, like the Progressive party of 1912, has attracted social workers as essentially embodying their program. I plead for a critical review of the record before we commit ourselves to complete faith in a governmental program.

Why did the labor platform of 1912 fail of achievement? Why is the New Deal failing to resist the downward pressure upon standards of living, while giving increased power to monopolies and refusing to support the recognized right of workers to bargain collectively; even going farther and positively discouraging strikes?

The reply is that neither the Progressive party of 1912 nor the New Deal has been grounded in a program of workers' action for raising standards of living, and the New Deal in particular has been designed to sustain property by credits and to encourage restrictions on production in the interest of maintaining profits. Both have fostered illusions regarding government in the minds of the general public, and the social workers are not helping to dispel these illusions. Both have essentially tended to maintain economic privilege in power, yielding only so much as is necessary to prevent too strong a protest.

In the face of these failures, social workers need alignment with other workers, not drawing their inspiration from the relation of social worker to client, but rather identifying themselves as fellow-workers looking toward more action, clearer facing of the issues, and demands which are not tempered to the "temper" of the administration and Congress but to the needs of the working people, whose standards of living should be the primary and indeed the sole concern of all branches of social work.

PROMOTION OF NATIONAL AND STATE
SOCIAL LEGISLATION BY SOCIAL
WORKERS

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THE social worker must undertake two programs, one preventive and one therapeutic. He can be indifferent to neither. Legislation is one of the devices by which both these processes are instituted and advanced. It is a fundamental obligation that the social worker should record and report the cost in human misery and human wastage of delayed and deficient revision in social relationships and institutions. That is the first responsibility to which attention should be called.

The second obligation of the social worker is that of adjusting with a sense of high responsibility the remedial measures undertaken to the definite and recognized social evils to be cured. This is a point on which very great stress should be laid. It is so easy to point out the wrongs of the present situation, and there is undoubtedly a great satisfaction to be found in the portrayal of those cruel wrongs. This satisfaction is often obtained without passing on to the painful, difficult, arduous, and often discouraging attack upon the evil in its essential features.

It may very well be asked whether or not there are principles that can be applied in the formulation of such a program as that to which reference has been made. Those principles should be deducible from the very professional principles that are supposed to govern the social worker's practice. Among these at any rate might be enumerated the following: In the first place, such services as are found to be called for by the maladjustment in the social situation should be comprehensive. They should

include all of those who suffer from that maladjustment. A program which contemplates the enjoyment of benefits only by those who have made certain numbers of contributions of certain amounts would leave unprotected large numbers of persons who may find themselves out of work through no fault of their own. That the program of unemployment insurance may be at all satisfying to the truly professional social worker it must be supplemented by a program of relief that is comprehensive and adequate and based upon high respect for the unemployed person and the determination that no one shall suffer from the disorganized state of industry in ways that are disastrous to morale and physique.

In the second place, the social service indicated as necessary by the maladjusted condition in the social situation should be continuous. Great numbers of persons have satisfied themselves by practicing their religion one day in seven; but the demands of the body, the demands of the spirit, and the demands of the social being have little to do with the period of the week or the fixing of the holy day; and while the doctrine of the average may be applied in calculations with reference to the cost of food, it cannot be applied to the operations of the digestive tract of the hungry man, who is often a dangerous man and always an unhappy man.

The provision, then, of comprehensive and continuous services to meet the forms of distress resulting from industrial, political, or personal inadequacies is a heavy obligation on the social worker. But our legislative program is undertaken for the purpose of readjustment, and for that readjustment costs will have to be paid in part by those who were beneficiaries of the earlier situation. It is only honest, in undertaking to bring about a change, that notice should be taken both of the volume and of the incidence of that cost. As has been said, the more or less irresponsible social reformer may feel so close an identification of his own purposes with those of an all-wise Providence as to see no necessity for taking these elements of cost into account; and yet, to those who are interested not only in the aboli-

tion of slavery but in the rich and full participation by the Negro in American life and in the better understanding by white Americans of the possible contribution of the Negro to his own enjoyment and culture, the fact of emancipation without compensation may serve as a tragic explanation of some of the difficulties following upon that great change in status resulting from the Civil War. That those who have benefited from practices judged not too antisocial at the time but later found to be hostile to the well-being of the community should pay the whole cost of an increased moral and social sensitivity is contrary to the doctrine and underlying principles of the professional social worker who has in mind not moral changes but social maladjustments.

A reference might be made in this connection to those who benefited from the manufacture of alcoholic and malt beverages, and part of the failure of the Eighteenth Amendment and the legislation incident to it may perhaps be attributed to this attempt at laying so great a share of the cost of that experiment upon those who had before been the beneficiaries of the traffic. The same type of obstacle should be kept in mind in all attempts at closer regulation of the practices that used to be described as those of organized vice.

If a question were raised as to whether or not social workers had, as a matter of fact, pushed their experience out from this restraint and limitation to the demand for statutory reorganization, it is easy to say "Yes," and certain features of that legislation are easily discoverable. Among those features are, in many cases, the state-wide application, in others the nation-wide character of the program in the face of the constitutional impossibility of securing national legislation. To cite an illustration: The reports of the New York Charity Organization Society contain extremely interesting historical data with reference to the connection between the work of that organization in its case-work aspects and its influence in the direction of reform of the inferior courts, and especially in the development of

housing control the law of landlord and tenant was in part revolutionized.

The suggestion has been made that it is of fundamental importance that the social worker, in developing a legislative program, should not make haste but should constantly be governed by the principle that he that "believeth doth not make haste" and by the other principle that undoubtedly "haste will make waste." But no one can be surprised if there is developed a sense of great impatience and an eagerness to discover a shorter route when one realizes that these measures that are of supreme importance to the social worker must be enacted in each of the forty-eight states and then possibly embodied in administrative arrangements in each of the approximately three thousand counties or the innumerable local jurisdictions of smaller area. It is not surprising that a group like the woman's party should attempt to deal with these situations by a so-called "blanket enactment." And it is, of course, the hope of all social workers that the experience of federal participation in relief and in control of industrial and business conditions may result either in a new view of our constitutional limitations or in one or more amendments to the Constitution itself.

There are two further points to be made, however. One is that however effective the participation of the federal government may be, so that the possibility of a national as over against a nation-wide legislative program may become practicable, the complexity and difficulty of the tasks undertaken in readjusting the social and constitutional relationships challenge the good faith, the devotion, and the intelligence of the social worker. The juvenile-court legislation is an admirable illustration of this complexity and difficulty. It has been agreed for a very long time that children should be taken out from under the criminal law, from under the poor-law, and from under the earlier law of domestic relations, and it seemed to the wisest and kindest and most skilled of those concerned to accomplish these purposes that by an appeal to certain doctrines of equita-

ble superparenthood one agency might be set up to secure these ends, and that agency was the juvenile court. And now after thirty-five years what is to be observed? It is impossible to look hopefully on the juvenile court as an agency through which these ends can be accomplished, and it is now perfectly clear that the criminal law itself must be revolutionized, and the principle of treatment must replace the principle of public punishment which was itself a social advance over the idea of private vengeance. It is now clear that we cannot take children out from under the criminal law and leave the law; we cannot take children out from under the poor-law. Rather the poor-law itself must be abolished, and for it must be substituted a system of public assistance available, as has been said, as a supplementary feature in a great scheme of social insurance. It is likewise clear that the law of domestic relations has been undergoing radical changes, that not only the rights of the mother to her child but the right of the child to full responsibility on the part of both parents is to be recognized as well as his right to the community interest in his well-being. This interest must be registered in the development of administrative public social services whose purpose shall be the protection of each child in the light of the community interest in that child's development as the basis of its own survival.

To review, then, the points that have been made are: first, the promotion of a legislative program is an essential feature of the social worker's task; this legislation is the expression of a determination deliberately and responsibly to readjust the conditions which have come out of the historic processes so that those conditions may be favorable to the life of all members of the community; this legislation must be as wide in its range as the evils from which distress emerges, and must provide for agencies and resources as comprehensive as the sources of distress; the program contemplates a determination in details based upon a recognition of the interests of those who are affected disastrously by the change as well as those who would benefit by the change; and it contemplates a continuous and

responsible observation of the results of the change so that the purpose sought may be continuously and more and more fully realized. This means a reorganization of great bodies of law, a reorganization of governmental relationships, and a vivification of the administration by a conscious seeking of the common end.

It should be noted that within the last two decades, through the gains in technical skill, a revolutionary change has occurred in the situation. As late as the beginning of the last decade great concern was felt for the inadequacy of the national income as well as for its maldistribution. We were still in the realm of the culture of the deficit. Already great programs of social legislation had been carried forward. One may at least mention the abolition movement of the 1820's and 1840's which merged into the woman movement of the late 1840's and 1850's. Already in the 1840's and 1850's temperance and peace were "causes" for which men and women were organized to secure converts to individual practice and legislation for the recalcitrant. In the Declaration of Sentiments at the Seneca Falls Convention of Advocates of the Rights of Women of 1848 are forecast the "purity" or social hygiene movement, the married women's property rights movement, the co-guardianship movement, as well as the political equality movement.

During these decades other bodies of legislation of interest to the student of welfare were being developed. Everywhere certain centralizing tendencies were observable. The care of the great groups of the insane, the feeble-minded, the persons found guilty of felony, the delinquent boys and girls, the physically handicapped, were being taken over as charges of the central or state authorities as contrasted with the local authority. It was in those years that what became the great system of charities and correction took shape—what we now call "public welfare" or "public social services." And at a time when domestic practices were wholly empirical, when neither the domestic nor the public budget had been formulated, when no one had dreamt of cost accounting, the responsibility of expending very

large sums in the maintenance and detention of these groups was placed upon public officials wholly unable to meet the test of the undertaking.

There was, to be sure, the interruption of the Civil War, and then the unregulated development of the predatory competition of the 1880's and 1890's, calling for some response in behalf of the resulting human wastage. One recalls that Jacob Riis took the young Theodore Roosevelt in the early 1880's in and out among the tenements in which tobacco workers lived and toiled, and 1883 saw an antisweat-shop law on the New York statute-books. Miss Addams in 1889 heard the call to Chicago's West Side; and within a decade child-labor and hours-of-work-of-women legislation was put on the statute-books of Illinois; Mary Richmond began her professional social work in Philadelphia, and from her experiences with families under care came effort at child-labor legislation and the so-called non-support and abandonment laws.

In this connection attention may perhaps be directed to the contrast presented by the two great systems of law under which most civilized countries operate, namely, that of the so-called civil law, which is formulated into a definite body of rules supposedly comprehensive in their scope, characterized as the code. On the other hand, there is the common law, said to be unwritten, found in judicial decisions, perhaps modified by statutory amendment, but insufficient because resting for its formulation on the settlement of controversies between and among individuals and based on experience which is fragmentary and incomplete. It might be said that of the two systems confronting each other one is characterized by irresponsible comprehensiveness, the other by responsible incompleteness; or it could be said that the one is *comprehensive irresponsibility* and the other *fragmentary responsibility*.

To apply these principles to the problem confronting the social worker in thinking of the social worker as a highly responsible person who applies and practices a body of recognized principles to the situation of an individual in distress, doing

this, however, always in the light of the community interest, it can be seen: first, that the content of proposed legislation would be characterized as these bodies of legislative activity, to which reference has been made, have been characterized by relation to definite experience of deficiency. The nature and range of the deficiency will be suggested by the inability of the social worker to accomplish his or her purposes in an individual case because of limitations imposed by the law or by public institutions.

For example, the experience of a social case-worker in dealing with a situation in which the investigation calls for correspondence over wide areas in which the sources of distress are also in distant jurisdictions will be awakened to the necessity of a social-work organization making possible correspondence and co-operation on equivalent levels of understanding and efficiency over as wide areas as individuals in family groups are allowed to move. The principle, too, will make itself felt that in meeting the costs of distress the sources of aid and relief should be as wide as the sources of distress themselves.

One day's visit to the stations into which immigrants arrived in Chicago was a sufficient basis for a program looking toward municipal, state, federal, and international control. This is, in fact, the story of the Immigrant's Protective League of Chicago. And, so, the multiplication of these illustrations would be superfluous.

There can then be no question but that the social worker must formulate and support state, federal, and international programs of legislative readjustment. The only question is as to whether the effort is to bring about a sweeping change or is to be directed to responsible examination and adaptation of amendment to deficiency.

To fall back again upon the scriptural admonition that "haste makes waste," or the poetic statement that "he who believeth will not make haste," is only to insist that one should take full note of the consequences of inadequate and irresponsible action. In making the choice between the two procedures it seems to me that there is a fine opportunity for the exercise

of the art that I should like to characterize as "diagnosis." An illustration of the dilemma presented may be found in the ambitious attempts that have been made at the codification of international law. This undertaking has been largely in the hands of persons learned in the civil law and persuaded that the process of codification can be applied to all civilized countries. There has been, however, a definite, although a silent, resistance to the procedure, and it has been very largely fruitless. A new approach to the undertaking is, however, now being made by the setting-up of a commission on which it is provided that always, in all deliberations, both systems of law are to be represented. My own belief is that the skilled diagnostician recognizing the essential necessity of experience will be able to judge when the experience is adequate to the formulation of a general rule. When this is possible, codification will become a practicable method by which rapid advance in the adjustment of legal institutions and agencies to social needs may take place.

PROMOTION OF LOCAL PUBLIC WELFARE PROGRAMS

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THE science of government, with some notable exceptions, has received very little critical attention from professional social work. I am sure we all believe in "good government," but like most people we have come to accept governmental shortcomings as being inherent in political organization. This attitude makes for cynicism, and those who believe that public service can and should be placed upon a higher level of social efficiency are often regarded as a bit queer.

To a large extent our arena has been the community, not government. Having built our own mechanisms of financing, planning, and to some extent controlling what we think the community needs, we may be expected to resist change on the simple explanation that what seems strange often appears unfriendly. We all recognize that the recent trends toward placing greater burdens and responsibilities on government have been due more to expediency than to deliberate planning. But even as social workers we are learning something from our social work. For one thing, we have learned that this something we have been pleased to call the "community," and which we have served with so much zeal and fidelity since its discovery by the pioneers of central financing, may not always be the kind of foundation upon which to build a structure devoted to welfare in a fundamental sense. Too often this community is simply an aggregation of unrelated services each struggling for its own place in the social-work sun, and mustering its strength on the basis of appeals that are intrinsically antisocial. That is not the way of social health.

In the past we have said that the field of voluntary community effort was the experimental field—the field in which the new could be tried and tested. The governmental field, on the other hand, was not to engage in any function that might in the least be controversial or whose ultimate values were open to doubt. I wish to challenge the validity of that assumption. I do so not because I may think that government, under the fresh impulse of the New Deal, is now more flexible and experimental in its approach to problems which it faces, but because I believe that the voluntary field has limitations of its own that are essentially more paralyzing in their effect upon experimentation than what we may encounter in the governmental field. They are the limitations that are imposed by custom, by tradition, by a parochial point of view. They are the limitations that a favored group, from a sense of charity, may bestow upon a less favored group. In short, they are the very limitations of our present social life, the limitations that have given us a disordered society. Now if we approach the problem of local governmental responsibility for social welfare simply from the standpoint of a transfer of functions from private to public auspices, we may actually be doing our communities a disservice.

What government should do depends upon our concept of social values. When we came to recognize that every child was entitled to an education, regardless of his social status, we made education a function of government. This did not mean the end of private education, but it insured certain minimums of culture and training for every child. The protection and promotion of health, familiar as it now seems, is of fairly recent origin as a responsibility of government. At this time new needs press in upon us because our ways of life have brought a crisis in social relations. We are disturbed by our statistics on crime; we are beginning to doubt in spite of courts and clinics whether we have made any progress in curbing juvenile delinquency; we are worried about the future of the family. Social action through government is not a panacea, but it still remains as the one form of social organization potentially capable of touching everyone.

It is this potentiality that, when all else fails, sustains our faith in social progress.

Whether this faith is an illusion or not, the fact remains that as social workers we are going to have a great deal more to do with government in the future than we have in the past. And this fact imposes certain obligations upon us. Our first obligation is to acquire a more realistic attitude toward governmental functions. It is always an easy matter to avoid facing governmental issues simply by expressing contempt for "politics." There is, of course, no need of deluding ourselves with the thought that political issues are ever settled in a dispassionate, objective way. Part of our trouble, I am inclined to suspect, lies in our failure to see that the motives which actuate the politician are not essentially different from the motives which move people in any sphere of human relations. That we live under a government of laws and not of men is a misleading half-truth. By ignoring the human equation in government we ignore what is dynamic.

Now this does not mean that as social workers we must align ourselves with party organization and indulge in the manipulations and the cheap back-door trading that characterizes so much of our political maneuvering. But we ought not to be afraid to talk to politicians and to officeholders. There is no reason why we should not set about deliberately to cultivate their good will. In the process we may discover that they are not so bad, and, what is more significant perhaps, they may discover that we too are citizens of the republic with a healthy skepticism about the possibility of reforming mankind by municipal ordinance.

The second obligation resting upon us is to be better informed. We must assume to begin with the concept that we have the capacity for assimilating information objectively. If we depend solely upon the essential rightness of our cause—whatever that may be—then we attach to ourselves the stigma of reform. On this point I do not wish to be misunderstood. Every effort at change or improvement is reform. Yet we do not like to be

called "reformers." We would rather make graphs than march in parades. We gladly concede that the world is sorely in need of reform. We might go even farther and admit that the worst enemies of reform are those who are too ready to compromise for half a loaf. The times demand sterner stuff. But at the same time we must recognize the fact of complexity, of pressures, and of demands of conflicting interests for dominance and control. This recognition imposes upon us the necessity of being familiar with essential facts. To indorse a housing program in principle without an awareness of the legal and fiscal difficulties in the way of its achievement leaves us open to the charge of being academic. More careful study and analysis quite often reveal that many of the apparent difficulties are merely strawmen set up by those whose private interests might be jeopardized by the program. We may urge a city council to provide more and better recreational facilities, but when a city is faced with mounting deficits and constitutional limitations on its bonding or borrowing capacity, we need to know something about tax rates, collection machinery, and, if possible, the wastes and inefficiencies in the general business of municipal housekeeping.

No group should be so presumptuous as to propose an additional burden upon municipal budgets without first familiarizing itself rather thoroughly with the entire fiscal condition of the city: how taxes are raised, who bears the brunt of the tax burdens, how the budget is prepared, how distributed, and how controlled.

The third obligation which we face leads us a bit more into the field of political theory. We have to be much more clear than we have in the past as to the field for effective governmental action. The march of power, of course, is toward Washington. It is not difficult to understand this trend on two grounds. First, the federal government, it is said, is much more flexible in its power to provide funds, and this assertion has as its corollary the more equitable imposition of taxes according to ability to pay. Second, the necessity for planning on a broad

scale in the face of widespread distress makes the federal government the logical planning agency. Without denying the validity of these trends, the fact remains that much of the impulse toward a greater assumption of power on the part of the national government derives from despair in dealing with local government. In theory, of course, this should not be the case. In the states and their political subdivisions resides true sovereignty. The federal government, as our textbooks in civics informed us, is a government of expressed and limited powers. What power has not been specifically granted to it is, under the Constitution, expressly reserved to the people—that is, the states. This raises an interesting query: Have we reached a point in our political experience where we must admit that the farther government is removed from the people the better government we will have? Such an admission places an awful strain upon our faith in democracy. Right now we are very much concerned about child labor. Those who would outlaw its abuses through federal action have all the facts on their side, but our theory of government is really against them. Those who argue that the proposed amendment to the Constitution merely transfers power over the subject matter from the states to the federal government ignore both theory and history. We are not quarreling with the social necessity of regulating this problem through federal action, but those of us who feel that there is no other real solution should be frank to admit that our traditional theory of the distribution of governmental powers, as between the national government and the states, has broken down. Perhaps the key to our present confusion can be found in a theory of shared responsibility. Such a theory is essentially social in its implications and therefore contrary to the legalisms by which governmental functions are traditionally administered. The necessity for a more socialized machinery of local government will become increasingly urgent as the objectives of the New Deal reach the point of application locally.

If Washington, under the pressure of a national calamity, can release more socialized schemes for meeting the strains and

distresses of the time, then the real test, to social workers as well as others, comes when these schemes reach their application at home.

This brings me to our fourth obligation, and the most practical one—the development of ways in which to make our influence more effective in achieving the ends we have in mind. Early in the depression we were saying that our primary business was to testify about what was happening, on the assumption, I suppose, that if the public was made aware of what was daily, common knowledge to us, something constructive would follow. We have learned, however, that such a passive rôle does not insure action, or at least not intelligent action.

We have in the experience of the Association's Committee on Federal Action some encouragement for the thought that similar committees organized along local lines might accomplish a good deal in the way of interpretation and actual planning. However, I doubt that we can accomplish much locally without identifying ourselves with other groups in the community that likewise have an interest either in particular measures or in general civic betterment. To my mind there is always a danger in a single professional group appearing as the exclusive spokesman for the field in which it functions, for this tends to create the impression that the group is fighting in behalf of its own self-interest. This point can be illustrated by reference to the health field. It is still not uncommon to find attacks being made upon laws requiring vaccination as a condition of school attendance. When the fight reaches an issue, it is usually in the nature of a battle between the medical profession and certain cultists. The doctors are charged with perpetuating a myth merely to enhance their practice, and the cultists are charged with being entirely lacking in scientific sense. Now the people who should really be concerned are the parents of the children who would be exposed to danger if the regulations were relaxed, yet it is an unheard-of thing for a parents group to be demanding sound health regulations. So long as a substantial part of social work was under voluntary auspices, it was possible through lay

participation on boards of directors and in committee work to develop as we went along the appreciations essential for effective community service. In the governmental field we face a new situation. The trend in government administration has been away from boards and advisory commissions and toward centralization of administrative control. This trend, I suspect, is chiefly attributable to the influence of the efficiency engineers. But we may find, as local government extends its functions more and more into the field of welfare, that we will need to devise new outlets for citizen participation in the affairs of government.

The kind of people whose participation will be desired, however, may not be the same folk who have given strength to the philanthropic field. Greater government participation in welfare work, particularly in local communities, as has already been said, presents a change more fundamental than a shift in auspices. The very existence of substantial philanthropic enterprises, alongside a great need for the services which this philanthropy has supplied, has its roots in the same unhealthy soil. The kind lady who derives a personal satisfaction in serving on the board of an old-folks home may not be the kind of person to advise in the administration of an old-age allowance scheme. I have no definite idea as to where we are going to find the people to supply the brand of leadership which this new field requires. In the city that I know best, men and women from the colleges are being increasingly recognized for their contributions to the field of public welfare; this leads me to believe that we can look more and more for strength and support from this source.

Many of us would like to believe that the labor movement should supply a fresh dynamic in social welfare, but so far as my limited observation is concerned, I have found scant comfort for such a belief. This discouraging situation is not altogether due to the generally recognized weakness of the labor movement in America. It is due in part to labor's suspicion of anything that carries the label of welfare. Very likely this sus-

picion can be overcome only through closer association—through an increased recognition on the part of social workers of their identity of interests with some of the objectives of the labor movement.

In the final analysis our job, as we face the uncertain future, is to be aware of the forces that are vital in determining the quality of public service. We must accept greater participation of local government, as well as state and national, in the field of social welfare as an inevitable fact. Social work and social workers can make valuable contributions to the developments that are all about us. As members of a national professional organization and its local chapters, we cannot afford to remain aloof. If organized social work cannot at this critical time make its voice articulate and its influence felt in the shaping of plans and policies in the interest of the unhappy victims of our chaotic social order, then we may as well drop the term "social" from the description of our field. If we choose to, we can do as the lawyers have done—divorce our techniques from our social objectives and simply take an artisan's pride in a workman-like job. The acceptance of such a point of view would be, to my mind, a betrayal of our professional obligations.

The social-work profession has passed through four years of intensive experience dealing with people in distress. The depression found us working hopefully toward a philosophy that took account of the newer knowledge of human behavior which gave us fresh insights and skills on the case-work levels, but we were caught woefully unprepared on the side of social machinery with which to deal with widespread distress arising out of the dislocation of our economic life. We have carried on in the face of what often looked like an utter rout of accepted standards of performance with a quiet, persistent purpose that speaks well for our powers of flexibility and adaptation. We are now face to face with new tests that have more to do with problems of social machinery, administrative authority, and fiscal arrangements than with case-work techniques, although these are definitely

implied in our approach to the new problems of governmental objectives in social work.

In the short space of a few months we have seen the federal government move from a position of fear and timidity in dealing with distress to one of aggressive leadership. To the general public this means little more than "meeting an emergency" but to social workers it should mean a new deal for social welfare. Whether it will depends upon how well we build locally.

We shall have to prepare ourselves in a very deliberate sort of way to meet the responsibilities ahead—responsibilities that will test not only our courage but our critical capacities, our social imagination, and our sense of the realistic. We shall have to find out what community life means in terms of new functional patterns. Our job will not be a spectacular one, but there is adventure ahead.

BASIC UNITIES IN SOCIAL WORK

PUGSLEY AWARD

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SOCIAL work is at present divided and confused because two varieties of tendency are operating at the same time and each appears to be going in an opposite direction. One of these trends is toward inclusiveness, comprehensiveness, unity, and the other toward specialization, separation, and diversity. The second of these developments is, I believe, realistic and observable in actual events whereas the former represents primarily a sense of need, a goal, a wish. In other words, the diversities in social work are there to be seen; the unities are consummations to be hoped for, ideals still to be realized. This need for unity cannot be fulfilled, patently, until we are more fully aware of the elements which tend toward separation and division.

I. DIVERSITIES IN SOCIAL WORK

The significant diversities in contemporary social work are observable in three spheres, namely, in (*a*) the modes or methods utilized in reconditioning human behavior; (*b*) the goals, objectives, or ends on behalf of which social work makes its claims; and (*c*) combinations of *a* and *b* which emanate as philosophic conceptions.

Since this introductory material is to be used merely as logical support for my final affirmation, I shall not attempt to elaborate upon these various diversities but shall content myself with a brief statement concerning each item in its series. A more complete description is, of course, desirable but this may be expected as a result of ensuing discussion.

a) Diversities in social work arising from different modes or methods utilized in reconditioning human behavior.—Social workers, when observed at work, appear to employ the following modes or methods in reconditioning and redirecting the behavior of their clients:

- i. Techniques, methods, devices, skills, or methods which may be designated as administrative, managerial, authoritative, manipulative, and legalistic; in terms of human relations such modes may be viewed as being primarily coercive.
- ii. Modes which appear to appeal to divine sanctions and may, therefore, be designated as religious or mystical.
- iii. Modes which strive for readjustment by means of objectifying motivations and achieving insights for the unadjusted individual by means of the discipline of mental hygiene.
- iv. Modes which assume a confidential and friendly relationship between the worker and the client and which assume the character of a counseling procedure.
- v. Modes which strive for intellectual understanding and rationalization of the situation leading to the formulation of altered desires and purposes, new ways of behaving, and new projects for life-situations; this mode is primarily educative.
- vi. Modes which assume the nature of experimentation without preconceived objectives in which the consequences of trial and error determine ensuing steps in the treatment process.

Analysis of the foregoing series of modes utilized in reconditioning human behavior reveals the obvious fact that these items do not represent a self-consistent whole. In fact, there are contradictory elements within this structure. The coercive and the educative modes, for example, are, from one point of view, mutually exclusive although it may be granted that both are necessary in a world of human relationships so imperfect as ours. The existence of dominance in the relations between persons is a stubborn fact. One should not expect individual social workers, or schools of thought in the profession, to be wholly consistent at this point. But the important consideration is this: If social work is to travel in a unifying direction, its leaders should be in possession of a guiding principle with respect to the methods used in conditioning behavior.

b) Diversities in social work inhering in the varieties of goals or objectives on behalf of which the profession rests its claims.—

Among the spokesmen and in the literature of social work one discovers the following goals: Social work's function is to

- i. Re-establish the unadjusted individual as a functioning unit in society.
- ii. Cure (or rid) the individual of his physical, mental, or social defects.
- iii. Furnish the handicapped individual with the necessities of life.
- iv. Remove the individual from his social environment in order to (a) protect society; (b) establish new behavior patterns; or (c) to punish him.
- v. Alter the environment in such manner as to make it more suitable for those who cannot under existing circumstances maintain themselves economically or sustain themselves as personalities.
- vi. Improve standards of living in general by means of a more equitable distribution of wealth, or in particular by rendering such services as are implied in better health service, housing, etc.
- vii. Organize communities, or groups within communities, for purposes of (a) self-determination or (b) planning.
- viii. Reform legal structures and functions in the interest of human welfare.
- ix. Facilitate and implement social change on one or all of the following levels: (a) increased institutional flexibility in terms of changing human needs; (b) increased cultural emphasis (values) in relation to civilization (technology); (c) enhance the opportunity for progressively minded individuals to function without restraints; (d) destruction of the existing socio-economic order by constitutional or revolutionary means in order to make way for the socialized state.

Again one must conclude that these goals, taken together, do not constitute a consistent whole. Perhaps it is safe to say that no other contemporary profession functions on behalf of as many varied ends or purposes. It may be said in extenuation of this situation that social work operates with the most diverse, complicated, and subtle material and that it might therefore be expected that its goals should represent a wide diversity. This explanation does not, however, relieve its leaders of the responsibility of formulating a satisfactory guiding principle.

c) Diversities in social work arising from combinations of conceptions of valid method and valid goal which emanate as varying philosophies.—Combinations of items in the foregoing classifications of methods and goals result in philosophies which

- i. Advocate the complete abolition of all private organizations and agencies of social work; obversely this means that all social work should be conducted under the auspices of governmental units, and should be financed through taxation.

- ii. Insist that the primary character of relationship between the social worker and the client shall be one of passivity, on the one hand, or dynamics, on the other.
- iii. Describe the outlines of social work in terms of psychiatry, on the one hand, or of sociology, on the other.
- iv. Delimit the field of social work to the diagnosis and treatment of unadjusted persons; within this restricted sphere social work is to be thought of as being primarily a method and a function and not a "cause" or a reform.
- v. Describe the function of social work in positive and preventive terms.

These varying philosophies do not, obviously, "hold together"; on the contrary, it once more becomes clear that social work is a confused profession, divided not merely with respect to its methods and goals but also in relation to its rationale. The situation thus precipitated is, indeed, curious, and I doubt whether a similar perplexity has ever beset any of the other professions. Not the least of its curious elements is the fact that social work goes on functioning, that the demand for its services continues to increase, and that its importance in any scheme of human welfare is recognized by a steadily mounting mass of citizens.

2. THE UNIFYING IMPERATIVE

Fractions are unsatisfactory; it appears to be a natural disposition of man to seek integers, to discover wholes. To be detached, separated, and isolated is to be without fundamental meaning. Only that which is related comes to be rational. Disrelatedness is characterized by tension. Thus it happens that social workers, realizing the lack of unity in their profession, have sought ways of discovering, or creating, wholes. From all the various attempts directed toward unification, I select the two which seem to me most important.

Many leaders in social work have believed that its basic unity might be described in terms of what has been designated as its generic method, namely, case work. Others have contended that methods, being responsive to scientific developments, are likely to change and evolve, but that the basic unity of a profession must be sought in its goal or objective. For social work,

consequently, unity may be described in terms of that goal which restricts its function to the rehabilitation of unadjusted individuals. The position which I propose to defend is that neither of these presumed principles of unity is adequate for our time. Unity through the case-work approach, or unity through the goal of rehabilitation of unadjusted individuals—these do not satisfy the younger social workers, the more progressive of the older professional group, and the more progressive laymen who have enjoyed the experience of working with social agencies.

a) *Why case work cannot become the unifying principle for social work.*—Case work is a frame within which social work operates. It represents, primarily, an approach to problems, not a true method. Case work is to social work what an isolated factor in pedagogy is to education. In one sense case work (the more appropriate term should be, presumably, "case analysis") is a "generic" category for all problem-solving; it is a device for isolating, abstracting, and reconfiguring elements in a total situation for purposes of convenience and manageability. It is impossible to deal with total situations; consequently, we make a convenient abstraction, a pattern which suits our zones of knowledge and experience; this abstraction becomes more manageable because it no longer represents the objective situation but rather that portion of the situation which our knowledge and experience permits us to recognize. The process of constructing such an abstraction includes a considerable increment of subjectivism, since we always tend to present a case situation which is comprised of problems which we are trained to recognize and can deal with.

Analogies are, perhaps, dangerous but they do nevertheless aid in clarifying our notions. Turning to the more exact sciences, let us assume that a bacteriologist is attempting to understand the behavior of a specific micro-organism which causes disease. He begins casewise, that is, by abstracting this particular germ and the disease which it generates from its larger context. He knows, of course, that the micro-organism which he

wishes to understand exists in a complex organic environment, but he also realizes that he cannot take this complete context into account. Consequently, he studies those factors which seem to him to be circumjacent, that is, directly related to the specific germ as either cause or effect. Underneath this case conception of his problem the bacteriologist brings into play a number of true methods of discovery and control. He can conduct, for example, a rough test which allows him to detect either the acid or the alkaline character of the products of this germ's activity, and he may employ numerous other methods leading to classifications. His ultimate aim is to discover more precisely how this germ behaves in relation to organic tissue; in order to arrive at such knowledge he may be obliged to resort to trial-and-error method, but at each step in his analysis he employs true methods. It would be manifestly unreasonable to say that the unifying element in bacteriology is case analysis. The practicing physician functions in much the same manner, that is, casewise, but the case approach is not thought of as being either generic or unifying in medicine. Social work operates casewise; its real skills are representative of modes for conditioning human behavior. When social work arrives at a guiding principle which rationalizes these modes it will have taken its first step toward unity.

b) *Why the goal of rehabilitating unadjusted individuals cannot become the unifying principle for social work.*—If social work continues to describe its primary goal as rehabilitation of unadjusted individuals, it will ultimately arrive at an untenable position. It will become the only profession which by the very nature of its attack upon problems promotes the further incidence of those problems. Social unadjustment arises out of a social situation. Those individuals for whom the situation has become intolerable are called unadjusted. If, now, the social worker proceeds to bring such individuals back to the so-called "normal stream of life" by the employment of his behavior-conditioning skills, the net result of his attack may become that of aiding in the perpetuation of a social situation which is bound to precipi-

tate further unadjustment either in this individual or in others.¹ The social norm, and consequently the norm to which individuals are brought, becomes the *status quo* with its existing distribution of wealth, power, and opportunity. On this basis social work may legitimately expect support only from those who stand in positions of privilege in the existing social arrangement. Stated in its baldest terms, social work then becomes charity pure and simple and must base its rationale upon a dualistic conception of values; those who succeed under the prevailing order of society must assume that their wants, needs, and desires stand on a different level in comparison with those who fail; if they are tender-minded, they may thereupon decide to provide a subsistence standard of value for those less privileged. In the end, such a social scheme means sharp class stratification in which the potentialities of the disprivileged are lost. Inequality of opportunity is finally rationalized as a form of inherent superiority which grants to the privileged the right to enhance their privileges through all possible means. If carried far enough, such a conception of society will emerge as an aristocracy of privilege, extending even to the method of formulating laws and conducting the judicial process in such a manner as to sharpen the lines of class distinction and conflict.

Very few social workers, so far as I am able to discover, will accept the foregoing rôle as valid and satisfying. The practice of charity satisfies something in human beings which may be called religious, but it is not a professional concept. And when it is professionalized it loses its chief merit and becomes something harsh and unlovely. The situation which social work as a profession ultimately is obliged to face may be stated thus: Is it possible to sustain a profession whose members are skilled in conditioning human behavior and who are devoted to the aim of

¹ I realize that my argument at this point is not complete. Unadjustment is not invariably due to factors in the social situation. Certainly, many unadjusted individuals fail to function successfully in a social setting, not primarily because society fails to meet their needs, but because they are, as individual personalities or organisms, physically, mentally, or emotionally "diseased." I assume, however, that social work has never been content to limit its field to services for these maladjusted individuals.

releasing the potentialities of individuals by means which relate them to a changing and dynamic society? If social work is able to make for itself such a place in a progressive society, it will become something entirely new in both professional and sociological development. Such a consummation would mean that every progressive society is to set up within its structure a profession dedicated to progress itself. Social work, under such a scheme, would become the instrument of social justice on its lowest level and of social change on its highest.

3. CLUES TO NEW BASES OF UNITY IN SOCIAL WORK

Having already indicated the general outline of a valid professional status and function for social work, it now becomes necessary to point out processes by which such a concept might be realized. In order to avoid the comprehensive task of formulating a general philosophy for social work, I must resort to the use of short-circuited devices of suggestion. It seems to me that the intellectual obligation which confronts social workers is briefly that of re-examining (a) the basic categories of social work; (b) the basic relationships which may exist between social workers and their clients; (c) the current diversities with respect to method and goal; and (d) projecting certain long-term and ideal conceptions of social progress. Individual pronouncements will aid in this process, but the real need is for a truly social procedure which will permit social workers to discuss their situation calmly and deliberately. I shall content myself with a mere statement or outline of the intellectual task as it now appears to me, together with a few sample queries which may serve the purpose of inducing further awareness of the involved problems.

- a) *A re-examination of the basic categories of social work involves consideration of*
- i. Societal forms and institutions. How flexible are existing societal forms and institutions? To what extent do existing social forms meet contemporary human needs?
 - ii. Personality. What are the latent capacities of personality? What degree of flexibility may be expected of personality (human nature)? Are the present "traits" of personality colored by the prevailing society and its values?

- iii. The social sciences. What basic information is available concerning societal forms, personality, and the interrelations between the two? What basic information is lacking? To what extent must the social sciences be interpreted in terms of changing human needs and aspirations?
- b) *A re-examination of the basic relationships between social workers and their clients involves consideration of*
 - i. The process of accommodation. To what extent do we live in a determined world in which the best we can do is to accommodate ourselves to the situation without being able to alter the situation itself?
 - ii. The process of adaptation. In what sense may it be said that we adapt ourselves to situations by altering the situations? What are the principal areas of social adaptation?
 - iii. The process of adjustment.² If accommodation and adaptation may be regarded as descriptive of relations between man and his environment, or between man and man, on the level of parts or particulars, is it valid to assume that adjustment is always a relation to the whole? Is social work concerned primarily with accommodation, adaptation, or adjustment? To what wholes does social work aim to adjust? Is the relation between the social worker and the client a true social whole? What generalized social wholes seem to be suitable as long-term goals for social work?
 - iv. The distinction between mechanistic and organic human relationships. In a mechanistic relationship between two persons one dominates and the other submits. The type pattern of mechanistic human relationship is that of master and slave. In organic human relationships two or more persons collaborate on behalf of a common purpose or goal. To what extent is the relationship between social worker and client mechanistic or organic? What are the possibilities of increasing the organic content in worker-client relationships?
- c) *Re-examination of the current diversities in methods and goals in social work involves an elaboration of the outline included in the opening section of this essay under a similar title.*
- d) *The projection of long-term and ideal conceptions of social progress involves*
 - i. The formulation of a guiding principle with respect to method. If the modes of conditioning human behavior are arranged in a graded series, social workers should be able to indicate the direction in which future emphasis is to be exerted. Coercion certainly belongs at the bottom of such a scale. It seems to me that education belongs at the top but there will be interesting differences of opinion on this point.

² I am indebted to Professor John Dewey for this graded series—"Accommodation, Adaptation, and Adjustment"—and its application to the problems of human relationships. Professor Dewey uses the series to designate varying degrees of freedom which are open to man.

- ii. The formulation of a guiding principle with respect to goals. If, again, the various goals in social work are placed within a graded scale, it should become apparent that social work is traveling in a given direction. From my point of view I should place the rehabilitation of unadjusted individuals at the bottom of such a series and habit-changing in the direction of socialization at the top.
- iii. The envisagement of a changed social order in which the "good life" becomes a realizable potentiality for all individuals who are capable of and willing to work. At this point the social worker enters an area of great perplexity. He is now called upon to utilize his imagination, to construct an ideal image of a better world, a new social whole toward which men's energies may be directed. But he is confronted with ready-made images, conceptions of a new world to which millions have given their allegiance. The strategic choice is being made everywhere, but the American social worker finds that the alternatives, as presented, are not congenial to him.

4. THE SOCIAL WORKER'S DILEMMA

A dilemma implies the existence of two choices, both of which are decidedly unpleasant. The work describes our current situation admirably. The two choices which are presented to us, each descriptive of a goal and a method for building a better world, are Communism, on the one hand, and Fascism, on the other. These polarized alternatives have arisen to oppose each other as a consequence of the revolutionary ferment of our time. And it seems to me that we must grant that this is a revolutionary period of history, that the fundamental structures of contemporary society are being revamped. Because it is a true revolutionary epoch, it seems to me inadequate to describe its character in terms which are predominantly indicative of economic affairs. Our governmental, intellectual, and moral structures are also involved. It is not merely that the *laissez faire* system of economics no longer functions effectively with respect to its goals, but that our ways of thinking, of governing, and of furnishing sanctions have also collapsed. This is not the place, obviously, for entering upon a comprehensive discussion of the revolutionary movement of our time, but it is nevertheless the responsibility of social workers to understand it. All that concerns me at the moment is the *impasse* which dams up our energies because we are unable to choose either of the alternatives

which have thus far become dominant in Western civilization. Communism and Fascism do not suit the American temper. Both represent symbols which are strange to us. Our whole tradition, our cultural heritage, rebels against the notions of dictatorship, regimentation, and the subordination of the individual. And because we do not react with enthusiasm to either of these choices, we continue to drift.

The existence of a dilemma may mean that our problem has not been accurately stated, courageously confronted, or appropriately analyzed. All of these elements are, no doubt, involved in our present frustration. It occurs to me, however, that the first is most important, and that we might move forward if we could state our problem more accurately. In the first place, it seems to me entirely logical to assume that we can have the sort of a society we want, relatively; that neither Fascism nor Communism are inevitable consequences. Whenever a situation is oversimplified and emerges as an "either/or," there is reason for believing that true choices—that is, choices in terms of graded differences, in terms of the nuances of experience—have been eliminated. Oversimplification is always an evasion. Our task is to project a conception of society which is sufficiently revolutionary on the one hand to eliminate accumulated evils and at the same time sufficiently indigenous to our cultural tradition to insure workability. We do not need an either/or symbol for this purpose. But we do need enough clarity of mind and courage to envisage the outlines of a new social order which must include, I believe, (a) a high degree of collectivism in economics, (b) functionalism in governments, (c) integrity in education, and (d) social reality in ethics.

Having proceeded thus far in elaborating my own point of view regarding our crisis, it seems to me necessary to go one step farther, namely, to a tentative statement of the sort of social change which seems implied and achievable. In presenting this outline I assume that the American people are not likely to abandon soon the concept of private property, nor are they likely to reverse their traditional attitude toward democracy. But

I also assume that continued drift is impossible and will, in the end, lead to desperate and uncongenial choices, or to a long, protracted period of deadly mediocrity. Within this frame of reference, then, I assume that it might be possible for us to build a new society based upon the following changes:

- a) A redistribution of national wealth achieved through rational taxation and a new index for wages proportionate to production.
- b) Circumscribed control over private property in relation to a national plan.
- c) Nationalization of utilities, currency, credits, and marginal lands.
- d) Elevation of a large proportion of housing to the status of public utility.
- e) Socialization of medicine.
- f) Functionalization of government without abandoning entirely the representative system.
- g) Insurance against unemployment, old age, illness, and accident.

The chief implication of the foregoing outline is this: It assumes that a variety of planned society is possible under American conditions which involves both collectivism and the democratic principle. There are many who do not believe in this possibility, and they may be right. But we shall never know until we try. In the meantime, it seems to me that social workers bear a unique responsibility to the situation; they know what miseries, dislocations, and frustrations follow in the train of a crassly individualistic, acquisitive, and competitive social order. They have shared in the bitterness of these latter years. And they should be in a position to see that it would not be merely more just to live in such a world but that it would be infinitely exciting. They could count on many allies: the unemployed themselves, a large sector of the farm population, many of the technologists, the newer element in the trade-union movement, and, last of all, the ever growing mass of young people to whom the present world must seem drab and uninspiring.

My conclusion amounts to this: Social workers are not likely to find unity for themselves until they seek an even larger unity in society as a whole. We must relearn the ancient lesson which teaches that we only find freedom for ourselves when we help to set others free. In such a moment of history it seems to me unthinkable that those who bear the title of social workers

should be content with a narrow professional concern. They will have a finer, a more ennobling task to perform when the human values which they have so long professed become realistically embodied in our social aims. At this point I share the faith and promise of Professor Dewey when he asks us to believe:

In spite of all the record of the past, the great scientific revolution is still to come. It will ensue when men collectively and co-operatively organize their knowledge for application to achieve and make secure social values; when they systematically use scientific procedures for the control of human relationships and the direction of the social effects of our vast technological machinery. Great as have been the social changes of the last century, they are not to be compared with those which will emerge when our faith in scientific method is made manifest in social works. We are living in a period of depression. The intellectual function of trouble is to lead men to think. The depression is a small price to pay if it induces us to think about the cause of the disorder, confusion, and insecurity which are the outstanding traits of our social life. If we do not go back to their cause, namely, our halfway and accidental use of science, mankind will pass through depressions, for they are the graphic record of our unplanned social life. The story of the achievement of science in physical control is evidence of the possibility of control in social affairs. It is our human intelligence and human courage which are on trial; it is incredible that men who have brought the technique of physical discovery, invention, and use to such a pitch of perfection will abdicate in the face of the infinitely more important human problem.

ARE THERE RELIABLE DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTICS OF COMPETENT PROFESSIONAL SOCIAL WORK?

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MY SUBJECT is not, you notice, "What are the distinguishing characteristics of a competent social worker?" or even "What are the most significant characteristics?" It takes absolutely nothing for granted. It asks bluntly, "Are there any distinguishing characteristics of a competent professional social worker?" As a realist who is more or less objectively aware of what is going on in the world and of how a great many important members of the so-called public think and feel about professional social work and social workers, I recognize the force of the question, its timeliness, and its importance, and I propose to accept its challenge candidly and seriously.

In the first place, then, I venture to suggest that a competent professional social worker is professional in outlook and in conduct. We need not go into all the implications of the term "professional," but there are a few qualities that can be isolated and are sufficiently specific and objective to be discernible by anybody who is on the lookout for them. One of these is a sense of responsibility and accountability to a group of earnest workers in the same general field, for the kind of standards of policy and performance one sets for one's self on the professional job. The professional person, that is, is not content to act in isolation. He is not merely conscientious, or earnest, or idealistic, or progressive in spirit. He is aware that with the best of intentions and with the highest of ability it is still possible to stumble and fumble, or even to move along smugly in a smooth and narrow path, quite oblivious of mistakes or of missed opportunities, un-

less one is in touch with others who are pooling their experience and subjecting themselves constantly to self-criticism and mutual criticism, for the sake of insuring the highest possible service to those whom they are seeking to help.

Such a person would resist, for instance, at any cost the imposition of a policy or a practice from any external source which does not accord with points of view that have sound professional support, certainly one which is in direct contravention of such points of view. He would rather lose his job than submit to unprofessional practice. If he differed—as, of course, he would have a perfect right to do—he would feel obligated to justify his own conscientious conviction before at least a conference, if not a jury, of his peers. I suspect that there are few members of the public who would not recognize such a professional feeling and respect it in the social workers with whom they come in contact.

Another of the professional qualities which such a person would display would be that of thoughtful, discriminating, and humble approach to the solutions of problems. He would avoid snap judgments; he would not have to have a prompt and final answer to every question in order to demonstrate his mastery of his job. Professional work is intellectual in quality; it is not impulsive. Intellectual problems rarely have single and decisive answers. They present serious alternatives, and the professional person refers these alternatives not only to his own experience or his own intuition but to the whole accumulated experience and the whole body of organized knowledge that is applicable to them. This does not mean that he must lack decision or be slow in action. It means only that he is not glib; he is so secure in his own reliance upon his own professional method that he can afford to be considerate and tentative in seeking a sound basis of choice.

A professional person respects professional confidences and professional relationships. He does not gossip with Tom, Dick, and Harry about the particular problems that come to him. He shows a decent reserve, even in his own intimate group, in sub-

mitting the fate of clients to the casual curiosity or ultimate determination of non-professional persons.

There is, of course, another somewhat more measurable quality that characterizes the work of a truly professional person, especially, perhaps, in social work. It is a sort of economy of effort that comes from sure-footed acquaintance with the bumps in the road. Because he has approached his own day-to-day experience with a thoughtful scrutiny and with the object of learning from it; because he has kept in touch with professional colleagues and learned from their experience, he does lose less time in keeping out of pitfalls and side alleys. He goes more directly to the heart of his problem and wastes less energy in the process. Because he is on terms of mutual understanding and appreciation with professional colleagues, the economies of co-operation, of thoughtful assignment of responsibility, and division of labor are more easily and quickly realized. Am I right in the assumption that in the long run—indeed, in the day-to-day operations of a social-work job—this sort of responsible alert professionalism will shine through the labors of a truly competent professional person?

But this, of course, is not enough. There are special aspects of the social-work job that impose special obligations and require special abilities—else social work is not professional at all. What are the qualities in this category that characterize the truly competent worker?

The subject matter of social work is human relationships or, rather perhaps, human beings in their manifold relationships to one another. Its ultimate quality is to be measured, therefore, I venture to assert, by the quality of relationship which the social worker sets up with those with whom he deals. This is, admittedly, an exceedingly intangible thing, difficult to measure or to define. But there is one element in it, I think, that it is possible to look for and to recognize. That is the capacity to keep one's own emotional problems, one's own prejudices and blindspots, one's own fears and wants, out of one's professional relations with others, whether clients, board members, poli-

ticians, or what not. The professional person who can be more interested in getting the other fellow's viewpoint than in pressing for the acceptance of his own; who can bear to be rejected or balked by another person without being personally offended; above all, who can refuse to yield to another, when necessary, without engendering bitterness or destroying confidence—that person is, I think, in the essentials, a competent professional social worker. And I believe that such capacity shows itself consistently in the daily work, and is recognized and appreciated by those of the great public who come into contact with the worker.

This is merely to say, in substance, that a competent professional social worker is always as much interested in the process of his dealings with other human beings as he is in the immediate product. He is as much concerned with what happens to those persons with whom he accepts professional responsibility, what happens to their feeling about themselves and about others, about their problems and needs, as in the immediate consequence in tangible benefits or accomplishments that may come out of the situation. If the rejected client feels free and inclined to come back when the occasion suggests or requires; if the business man, employer, and teacher feel confident that this worker understands and appreciates the special problems which they face and will deal with them fairly and considerately, though from a point of view different from their own; if the board member and the contributor know that the worker is not impulsively and contemptuously pursuing her own arbitrary course, but is aware of the issues at stake as they see them and intent upon utilizing every possible source of help, including theirs, in the interest of genuine and permanent results for all concerned, then that person is, in my judgment, a competent professional social worker. And I believe that client, board member, business man, teacher, and the man in the street who meet her on the professional task will recognize her as such.

I have said nothing of the criterion of concrete attainment of specific objective ends. I have faith to believe that such a

worker as I have described would in the long run be blessed with accomplishment that could be measured and counted. But I am loath to rest our case for competent professional social work on any statistical or quantitative basis of comparison. It is like the cleanliness and order of many an antiquated children's home. It may conceal so much of inherently destructive quality underneath. A worker who can get Johnny to the clinic, but who leaves Johnny crying and afraid on every visit; the worker who can make so many calls or find so many jobs in a given space of time, may get certain specific measurable results, without actually achieving any of the ends to which competent professional social work is directed—indeed, may positively prevent the attainment of such ends.

Of course, by the same token, the dollar-and-cents measure of results or of economies is equally unsatisfactory, though it is entirely proper and necessary to hold social workers to account for the truly constructive and economical use of the funds intrusted to their care. But it must be emphasized and reiterated that the measure of constructive and economical use must be in terms of truly sound professional principle and practice, not that of another area of activity and service. The first consideration here is that the contributor shall know the criteria which the social worker proposes to apply and shall accept them in advance. Until that happens there can be no sound basis of professional service; when it happens there can be no serious problem of conflict in the measures that are to be applied to professional achievement.

There is one other quality that I should hope to see expressed by every competent professional social worker. That is an awareness of, an interest in, and a sense of responsibility for, the outcome of fundamental social movements and changes that promise the release of human beings from the pressures and misfortunes that bring them in such overwhelming numbers to the gates of social service agencies. This is not merely a matter of philosophical choice or emphasis. It is inherent, I believe, in the very essence of the professional task and relationship in social

work. Social workers as technicians, as routine practitioners of routine functions, are not professional at all. They have missed the very heart of the problem with which they are dealing.

I would expect every competent professional social worker to be more satisfied to see the routine tasks of his technical employment disappear, and his job to vanish with them, and to show this attitude in his relations to public affairs, than to see his own tasks mount and multiply and his own job gain security, at the expense of the general social security and well-being. I am not one of those who insists that the task of the social worker is to make his own task unnecessary, for I believe that in any social order, however perfect in its fundamental organization, there will always remain problems of personal adjustment and of community planning, organization, and leadership which will require the kind of insight and skill and point of view that modern professional social work carries peculiarly in its own philosophy and practice.

But wherever the immediate task of amelioration touches or emanates from a remediable social cause, the competent professional social worker will show himself as alert and as determined in the treatment of the cause as in the treatment of the consequence. And with that professional attitude toward the community of which he is a part, as well as toward the individuals and groups with whom he associates in the discharge of his daily technical responsibilities, he will deserve and receive the respect of the community for vision, courage, sagacity, and professional competency as well.

OFFICIAL RECOGNITION AND STATUS OF THE SOCIAL WORKER

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IN THIS paper I wish to call your attention to the fact that what California is trying to do is to set up a long-time program for the registration of all social workers. As we have been working out this program, we have kept reminding ourselves, that, as our program is planned, one year or two years is a short time—that we are working toward a standard which shall ultimately guarantee to California high professional standards in both public and private agencies; and to do this we could not make haste too eagerly today.

Consequently, our program has been of no help to the State Emergency Relief Administration, which in California is staffed practically entirely, in the actual field staff, with trained social workers. They are also now registered social workers, but that is not because registration is of any help to them now in choosing personnel, but because they want to support the registration program.

Discussion of the possibility of registration and certification of social workers began in California about 1920, and came to action in 1928 when a bill was drawn up sponsored jointly by the League of Women Voters and the California Conference of Social Work. This bill was passed by the Assembly but defeated in the Senate of the state legislature in 1929. The defeat was attributed to the sudden opposition of a group of social workers who feared that under the bill their positions would be jeopardized. At this, the League, feeling that it had been shabbily treated by its allies, the professional social workers, withdrew from the whole affair for the time being, with the entirely under-

standable intimation that the social workers had better organize their forces before trying to put through another bill.

And this proved difficult. The group of social workers who held their positions largely because they held them were now thoroughly filled with suspicion. They would not support a bill until all professional requirements were set forth in detail, and the committee at work on the matter felt that no detailed bill could be written—that machinery for registration would have to be set up, and much in the way of definition of capability and the classification of positions would have to be left to the examining board.

It seemed for a time as though a hopeless *impasse* had been reached until the committee of the California Conference which was studying registration hit on the really admirable plan of a period of voluntary registration under the auspices of the California Conference of Social Work. This was carried at the annual meeting of the Conference in 1932, and a department of registration and certification within the Conference was set up. In 1933 this department adopted a set of by-laws, elected a board of five examiners who were given complete and final responsibility for the setting-up of standards for registration, and registration of social workers was set to go—to experiment “within the family” (so to speak) before asking a state agency to take over the complicated task of setting up professional standards for social workers.

It is hard to overestimate the importance to public welfare standards of personnel that such boundaries as we have tried to make should first be achieved within the social-work group as a guide to Civil Service officials—because to set them up fairly and consistently as applied to real and not theoretical situations is one of the most difficult tasks.

It was decided at the first meeting of the Board of Examiners in September, 1933, that the most pressing issue before us was bound up in a liberal “blanketing-in” clause which, out of a strong sense of justice to the marginal group as well as the neces-

sity of carrying the opposition with us, had been written into the by-laws. This section read:

Up to May 31, 1934, any case worker or executive or sub-executive employed on a salary by a social agency of recognized standing, who has lived in California for a period of three years, has graduated from a high school or who has the equivalent education thereof, and who has had at least two years of experience on salary in such a recognized social agency in California, shall be certified by the Board of Examiners as a registered social worker.

Ultimately there would have to be machinery set up for examinations, but the immediate issue was to provide for the rights of all persons referred to in the blanketing-in clause. Letters were sent to all organizations of social workers throughout the state, together with a supply of application blanks.

The next step seemed to the board to be to secure as much public understanding as possible. Articles regarding registration came out in Conference bulletin announcements, and in the newspapers of the state as an important item of news. Representatives of the board then called upon the Civil Service commissions of the three most populous counties of the state—San Francisco, Alameda, and Los Angeles. The purpose of such visits was twofold: (1) to secure information which might be used in setting up our own examination later; (2) to acquaint the Civil Service officers with registration in order that Civil Service officials might be thinking of registration as a possible future help to them in setting up minimum requirements for social workers eligible to examination for public welfare work.

One of the immediate reactions to the newspaper campaign was an article in a newspaper of one of the cities of the state charging that registration constituted a "further professionalizing" of social work, which was bound to "increase the cost of caring for the needy." As a result of this, a visit was paid to the State Taxpayers' Association to explain the purpose of registration as being really the assuring ultimately of better professional service.

It may seem strange that the first thing done by the board was not to attempt to define a "recognized social agency." The

Board of Examiners, consisting of persons who had for many years been professional social workers, was unanimous that the way to deal with the problem in hand was to consider applications individually, each on its individual merits, until a sufficient body of data had been built up on which to base a valid definition of a "recognized social agency"—a decision which has proved wise. In spite of years of experience as social workers, applications came from agencies of which we had never heard and which we could not have provided for if we had begun by making definitions. At any rate, definitions were arrived at slowly—where they were arrived at, at all—and some are still in process of completion.

The board had a firm conviction that it should be liberal in its judgments up to May 31, 1934—that it had been directed so to be by the department of registration of the Conference, and that these directions were wise: (1) because it was keeping faith with that older group of workers who had so feared registration, and (2) because social work needs the support of all the persons really concerned with social welfare, and that it would be disastrous to set up within the practicing group of social workers a minority who might join the critical group of lay persons on the outside.

It seemed obvious that members of the American Association of Social Workers, of the American Association of Hospital Social Workers, and graduates of graduate schools of professional social work would clearly be eligible under the blanketing-in clause. Therefore, these three groups have consistently been registered without further demands on them and without any regard to residence restrictions. Somewhat to our amazement it quickly became obvious that section 9 of the by-laws, framed as a liberal blanketing-in clause, would itself have to be interpreted liberally or else scores of workers whom we felt sure the department would like to have registered would be excluded.

We decided—which decision we acted upon—that this must mean an academic equivalent and not, as half-a-dozen applicants urged upon us, experience in "the university of hard

knocks." Every living human being, client as well as social worker—perhaps client even more than social worker—has had experience in hard knocks. But we found that many a person had for years been doing social work who had been of high-school age at a time, or in a place, where no high-school education was available, and had nothing which was really an academic equivalent. Were we to exclude these persons from registration? We doubted it. We therefore went beyond our directions and took the liberty of waiving even the "high-school graduation or equivalent" requirement in the case of workers of long and devoted service. In the case of younger people, however, we were not as lenient. If the department really thought an educational requirement of any importance, it seemed to us that we had not the authority to waive that requirement in the case of younger people who had grown up with high schools all about them.

We are now coming to the major problems of policy which confronted the board, and out of which we tried to carve, inch by inch, a general program for registration. Perhaps the best way to present these is to lay before you some of the actual questions as they presented themselves to the board. Every one of these questions was raised by an actual application—or dozens of applications.

1. Is a public health nurse a social worker?
2. Is a physician a social worker?
3. Is a full-time volunteer in a social agency a social worker?
4. Is the financial worker, without whom the wherewithal to operate a social agency might fail—is he a social worker?
5. Is a stenographer who takes first applications a social worker?
6. Is a sailors' mission a recognized social agency?
7. Is a shelter in which homeless men put up for one night and then go on—is this a recognized social agency?
8. Is a person engaged in social research a social worker?
9. Is a school counselor a social worker? A visiting teacher certainly is, but are all other school people?
10. Is a stenographer who was asked years ago to help out in the case work and is still doing part-time clerical and part-time general agency work—is she a social worker?
11. Is a religious worker a social worker? And what about the Society of

St. Vincent de Paul, which was historically probably almost the first group doing what we today call social work—should all members of this society be eligible to registration as social workers regardless of task assigned?

12. Is a health department a recognized social agency?
13. What about such a health agency as the Tuberculosis Association?
14. Are workers in councils of social agencies and community chests social workers? And faculty members of schools of social work?
15. Is a Legal Aid Society a recognized social agency?
16. What about the director of a Social Service Exchange?
17. Group workers are social workers—but are all group workers? For instance, is the physical director in a Y.M.C.A. a social worker or a teacher by profession? If he is a good one, you will say he is a social worker. But then why is not a socially minded teacher of history a social worker?

If anyone is prepared to answer all these questions we would welcome his help, because we are not. Some of them are, to us, still in the realm of problems waiting for solution. In general, we have evolved some principles which we believe to be sound.

Social work can, in general, mean the whole field of social endeavor—it does so mean as used in the name of the national and state conferences of social work. When it comes to the definition of social work as a profession, however, we believe that something much more limited is meant. We believe, for instance, that all public health workers are engaged in the field of social endeavor side by side with those persons technically called “social workers,” but that there is a very real professional distinction between the public health worker and the social worker. A social worker who has received professional training has taken a very complete and often surprisingly technical series of courses in medical problems—but no public health nurse would consider her fitted to go into a sick room and nurse a patient; neither would the social worker herself. Nor does the social worker consider that a nurse without special training in social work is equipped to handle other than health problems.

The same general principle applies to other professions, no matter how closely allied or how important to the field of social endeavor. The Board of Examiners has clearly stated, and consistently adhered to the policy that no member of another pro-

fession can be registered as a social worker unless he or she has had special training in social work, or (under the blanketing-in clause) two years of experience as a professional social worker. This applies to educators, physicians, nurses, religious workers, and clerical workers, even when employed by a recognized social agency. A physician or a nurse may be employed by a social agency to do only the work ordinarily expected from his own professional group, that is, from a physician or a nurse. Just so with the clerical staff of a social agency—its work is specialized and different from the work of the social worker. And employment by a social agency cannot be considered to make a social worker. Yet you would be surprised at the heartbreak caused to a number of clerical workers by our decision. It is an interesting comment on just how vague this profession of ours has been.

We distinctly do not believe that a person in a volunteer capacity, even though working full time, should be registered. The department in its directions to us put in the words "on salary," and we believe this was intentional and wise. But we have met bitter protests on this policy.

Stangely enough, we are not prepared even yet finally to define a "recognized social agency." We have from the beginning used as a basis Miss Breckinridge's definition of a social agency in the proposed Illinois bill for registration:

Social case work agency means a public authority or a private organization whose purpose it is to secure the public treatment of individuals suffering from poverty, delinquency, mental disease or deficiency, physical handicap or deficient neighborhood or community facilities by the application to their particular need of the appropriate resources.

To this we have added one or two qualifying clauses, not all of which we feel able yet to require, but which seem to us sound. A recognized social agency should have the following general qualifications: it should (1) be primarily a social service agency; (2) have sound administration, with a board at the head; (3) have approved methods of financing; (4) co-operate with other community agencies as, for instance, use of the Social Service

Exchange; (5) have adequate staff, in quantity and quality; (6) maintain adequate records; (7) maintain a definite office; (8) use professional procedure.

Up to the end of April we had received 1,317 applications, of which we had approved 756, denied 154, and the remainder are still awaiting final action. This may seem like a small number of applications, but when it is remembered that registration is not compulsory and that each application must be accompanied by a fee of two dollars, there is evidence of a surprisingly widespread interest in the experiment. Our next move will have to be the setting-up of plans for examination, including a decision as to who shall be eligible for examination after the blanketing-in period is over.

We think that the California experiment carried on by social workers for social workers should be of value to other states preparing for registration. I doubt very much whether any state board would have the patience it has required to protect the older group of workers and at the same time feel out a permanent policy for higher standards.

In general, we would advise those trying a similar experiment to provide for a fairly large board (we have now changed our number to seven) and a somewhat larger registration fee. Any board of examiners will inevitably be composed of social workers who are known and trusted—that is, of very, very busy people—and you need to provide for enough members so that they will not be worked to death, and enough money so that they can hire adequate help.

We are not yet prepared to outline our bill. We should like to pass on registration to the state at the meeting of the legislature next year, but how to set up a politically insulated board of examiners? I believe that question has been heard before.

The experiment has already made every branch of the profession give consideration, sharpened by a practical challenge, to setting up clear-cut standards within their own field. Registration should certainly not become an artificial wall to protect a group of entrenched persons from competition. Yet registration

must set up honest restrictions which will keep out of social work those unqualified persons who would like to pour into it because it opens jobs which seem interesting, socially acceptable, and endowed with that power over other human beings which is almost always flattering. The medical profession may do as much human harm when it bungles as we do—but I doubt it. If psychology, economics, sociology, political science, and psychiatry have anything of value for human beings, surely these things should be available to society through a profession whose business is that of dealing with human beings.

Our hard work is ahead of us, namely, to set up examinations which will avoid pseudo-professional standards and assure to the community educational qualifications which are honestly and vitally important—genuine standards of a genuine profession distinct unto itself.

NEW FORMS OF ORGANIZATION AMONG SOCIAL WORKERS

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THE new organizations that developed among the rank and file between 1931 and 1934 have not been uniform in their growth. They have varied in size, in importance, in effectiveness, and in the degree of crystallization of ideas achieved—largely dependent upon local conditions.

I propose to describe very briefly three types of organization, and then to sum up in a few words their significance.

A. A.A.S.W. PRACTITIONER GROUPS

Practitioner groups are to be found in three chapters of the American Association of Social Workers: Chicago, New York, and St. Louis. They have all sprung up within the past year. Practitioner groups represent in a sense an early stage in the thinking that finds its logical conclusion in the rationale of the protective organization. The demand for a practitioner group by rank and file chapter members is a recognition, not always expressed, of a difference between the executive and the practitioner. It may have no function but that of a study group which examines the same problems that the chapter as a whole does, and which reaches conclusions that present no observable differences. But the desire to collect as practitioners rather than as social workers marks a distinct departure.

The conditions giving rise to practitioner groups are as a rule inherent in the organization and functioning of the chapter. Incomplete participation in chapter activities, the failure of chapters to express an opinion on important social issues, the failure of the chapters to stem the downward trend in salaries, the

domination of chapters by executives, have been listed as contributing to the demand for a separate practitioner group.

The A.A.S.W. practitioner groups are still in their formative stage. Thus far they have concerned themselves largely with the immediate problem of dealing with the client in a world of insecurity, although the New York and Chicago groups have touched upon social issues and working conditions. Their future development remains uncertain. They are limited by the limitations inherent in the A.A.S.W.

B. SOCIAL WORKERS' DISCUSSION CLUBS

Social workers' discussion clubs have their origin in a generalized dissatisfaction with traditional thinking in the profession on vital social issues. The first group was formed in New York City in 1930. Today discussion clubs exist in Boston, Philadelphia, Cleveland, St. Louis, Los Angeles, and New York. The Chicago group transformed itself into a protective organization last fall, but carries on its discussion activities through an open forum.

Although the programs of discussion clubs possess a more immediate appeal to the professional worker, both public and private, membership requirements are not rigid, and in at least two cities (New York and Chicago) clerical workers have attended meetings and have participated in the work of the organization.

These discussion clubs have been spontaneous in origin and lack national co-ordination, although the foundations for an interchange of experiences were laid at a luncheon meeting at the 1933 Conference. They all emphasize to a greater or lesser degree, however, the necessity for a critical attitude toward social issues and the desirability of action on those issues on which social workers can speak with authority.

The New York club, says its prospectus, is "an open forum for employees in social agencies for the analysis of basic social problems and their relation to social work." Los Angeles stresses the "need of intelligent understanding of social and economic prob-

lems, which should transcend an obsolete narrow professionalism. The intent," continues the statement of purpose, "is to make the Discussion Club inclusive of the new elements that are entering social service and to develop socially conscious groups and broad gauged direction toward a new social order."

Emphasis in program has been laid by some of the clubs upon the development of a sympathetic attitude toward labor and its problems. Thus the New York club indorsed and contributed to the two hunger marches to Washington called by the unemployment councils, indorsed the Workers Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill, and recently supported with expert data the demands of the local Unemployment Council for more adequate relief and for jobs for all unemployed at a living wage.

As a workers' group the Discussion Club has taken a direct interest in working conditions among employees in social agencies, especially in those cities in which the bulk of the membership is derived from the public agency, where standards are relatively low. Salaries and personnel practices have been scrutinized by Chicago, Cleveland, and Philadelphia. In Chicago the Discussion Club was partially responsible for the restoration of paid vacations to workers in the public agency. In October, 1933, the same club proposed a code for workers in social agencies out of which grew the Federation of Social Service Employees. Members of the Cleveland Discussion Club participated in the formation of the Family Service Workers Association to press for action on salaries and standards.

Before leaving the discussion clubs, mention must be made of *Social Work Today*, a bimonthly magazine with a national circulation issued by the Social Workers Discussion Club of New York with the support of clubs in other cities. *Social Work Today* describes itself as the voice of the practitioner.

C. PROTECTIVE ORGANIZATIONS

The theory of the practitioner movement finds its full development in the rationale of the protective organization. The A.A.S.W. Practitioner Group and the Social Workers Discus-

sion Club differ little from study groups in form and approach. The protective organization, however, introduces into the field of social work an entirely new principle. Of the new forms of organization it is by far the most significant and the one most likely to affect the future development of the profession. For the principle of protective organization proposes new and challenging solutions to a host of problems which have resisted solution for many years and raises a variety of new problems that the profession must answer in order to survive.

Protective organization had its birth in New York in the winter of 1931-32 when the Association of Federation Social Workers, comprising case-workers in constituent agencies of the New York Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies, reorganized following a wage cut, opened membership to all Federation employees, and accepted the preservation of the economic welfare of its members as its primary function. Three (New York City, Philadelphia, and Brooklyn) are confined to employees in social agencies affiliated with the Jewish federations of their respective cities. Two (New York and Philadelphia) take in all workers in the public relief agency. (The writer lacks information on the Department of Public Welfare organization in Detroit.) One is confined to visitors in the public relief agency (Cleveland). In Chicago the Federation of Social Service Employees is open to all categories of workers in all social agencies—making it the most inclusive of the organizations under consideration.

These eight groups have as their primary aim the advancement of the economic welfare of their members. They regard as false the assumption that a concern with wages and working conditions (or with salaries and standards) is necessarily incompatible with a professional interest in the techniques of social work or that it necessarily clashes with the interests of the community. As will be made clearer in what follows, the new orientation views the social worker as an employee who has a legitimate interest in the protection of his standard of living and who may and should employ in the protection of that standard

an approach that has been found effective by other groups of employees (*viz.*, teachers, government employees, etc.)

The A.A.S.W., the new groups charge, has failed to safeguard the economic status of the social worker. A more serious objection to the A.A.S.W. as a solution is its unrepresentative character. With a membership of approximately ten thousand, it cannot voice the needs of a body of workers five and six times that number. This applies especially to the workers who have crowded into the field since 1929 and to whom the A.A.S.W. has relatively little to offer.

The new approach to the problem begins with a recognition that the social worker is in an employee relationship to the board of trustees or to the state legislature as the case may be. Now the function of the board (or legislature) is to provide the necessary support that makes possible the running of the social-work machine; the function of the social worker is to run that machine. The employer is interested in operating the machine at the lowest possible cost consistent with acceptable standards (which vary from time to time and from place to place); the employee, to drop the figure, is interested in adequate salary and personnel standards. Out of this divergence of interests arises a clash which has always been soft-pedaled because of the fiction that a community of interests is essential for the effective functioning of social work. In the past the clash was hidden beneath the intercession of the executive, the good-will of the board, and the relative docility of the social worker who as a rule took what was meted out to her with good grace and few questions.

The new approach brings the clash out into the open, accepts it for what it is, and deals with it realistically. The experience of other professional groups indicates that a recognition of this clash of interests on the economic front has proved no bar to effective functioning professionally. There are a score or more organizations of professional workers who have sought to safeguard and to advance their standard of living through collective action. These organizations have severally employed some or all of the techniques of collective bargaining: public protest,

publicity, committee negotiations, lobbying, and even strikes. Starting from the fact of the employee status of the social worker, the new protective organizations posit the superiority of collective action as over against individual case by case negotiation in the whole field of employee relations.

Such an employee organization by its very definition cannot be confined in membership to social workers. Clerical and other non-professional workers share the hazards attaching to employment in the fields of social work; they, too, are affected by salary reductions, by lack of tenure, etc. They therefore belong in a common organization with the social workers who are their fellow-employees.

The methods employed by protective organizations of social-work employees possess, of course, a closer relation to those in use in industry than to current practice in social agencies. Mention has been made of the techniques found effective by other professional groups.

It is too early in the history of protective organization to weigh gains and losses. The New York Association of Federation Workers recently obtained partial restoration of salary cuts for the five thousand employees in Federation agencies. This victory followed a two-hour stoppage which climaxed three years of active organizational efforts. Salary restorations have also been gained by the Brooklyn Association for Federation Workers. In January, 1934, the Emergency Home Relief Bureau Employees Association in New York won a number of major concessions including salary increases, the abolition of enforced overtime, and coverage by industrial compensation. Salary increases have been achieved by the Family Service Workers Association of Cleveland.

The social outlook of the protective organization is a significant index of its place in the class realignments occurring today. Acceptance of himself as an employee and a preference for collective bargaining in dealing with his employer do not in the eyes of a New York Association of Federation Workers member, for instance, sabotage the social-work program of the

community. On the contrary, all efforts designed to promote the standard of living of one group of wage-earners has a beneficial effect upon the general standard of living. There is wealth, sufficient wealth, in the country to meet the needs of a far higher standard of living than is generally enjoyed today.

Organizational struggles have sharpened for social-work employees their consciousness of themselves as individuals who in addition to certain professional interests have in common with all workers a justifiable concern for the future of the producing class in our society. In so far as they share this point of view, protective organizations may properly be regarded as another addition to the growing number of unions in this country, and their membership as an articulate unit in the large army of labor in its fight for another society.

LAND AND SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIANS

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IT IS often said that the new Indian policy as embodied in the Wheeler-Howard bill is a reversal of the Indian policy of the past. It is far truer to say that the Indian "policy" that took form a half-century ago turned out to be no policy at all, but a process of economic and moral destruction of the Indian. The white workers among the Indians were likewise victimized by this system, which doomed their wards, in spite of everything that could be done for them, to an ever lower economic and spiritual level. All the elaborate and costly services that have been created for the Indian have been built on the rotting foundation of economic and cultural disintegration.

The new Indian policy seeks to substitute a humane realism for the doctrinaire formulas that arose fifty years ago. It seeks to give the Indian economic security and cultural freedom so that he may develop according to the genius of his nature. But these ancient formulas which have fettered the Indians are so persistent that the struggle for the Wheeler-Howard bill has been not so much against selfish interests that benefit from the present system as against the weight of these lifeless doctrines. One meets them at every turn—in Congress, in the press, among the alarmed public; formulas which confute themselves by the tragic facts they have created, yet close men's eyes against even looking at the facts. I propose, therefore, to examine these formulas before dealing with some of the basic concepts of the new policy, and first of all the formula of allotment.

Among the more sophisticated proponents of the general allotment act of 1887, the act was intended to be a technically virtuous method of divesting the Indians of their lands by some method short of open violence. Among its more idealistic pro-

ponents, however, it was looked upon as a tool for civilizing the Indians; and this tool was to work automatically, impregnating the Indian mind at one stroke with the white man's views of God and the dollar.

One cannot read the discussions that accompanied the act of 1887 without being impressed with the naïveté of the philosophy of cause and effect enshrined in the allotment theory. There was little thought of the homely realities of living from the soil, of digging and plowing, of pigs and chickens, of housing and clothing. The simple fact of fee ownership of land in itself was to give the Indian thrift, industry, pride, and patriotism, and these virtues would quickly change the roaming savage into a landed bourgeois.

No one bothered with some of the obvious facts. Most of the Indian lands were semiarid or suited only to grazing and forestry, and small allotments of such land were incapable of supporting a family or of forming the basis of an individual enterprise. The Indian had not the capital to embark in farming or livestock-raising even if he knew how; and the educational theory of the day, so far from stressing the primitive techniques of tilling the soil and managing herds, sought the spiritual salvation of the Indian through conventional white education. Allotment and education were conceived in the main as a sheer leap from native culture to white culture with no intervention of technique or instrumentality, still less with any recognition that there was anything in Indian culture or tradition that was worth preserving.

There were far-seeing men even then who foretold the ruin of the Indian estate through allotment. And there were a few who saw that allotment in itself, unless accompanied by a realistic education and supervision in agriculture and rural industry, would get nowhere. But these groups were a powerless minority; and this primitive people, which needed patient guidance along the path to civilization, was made the victim of an extreme application of the dogma of *laissez faire*.

It is not necessary to enter into an exposure of the failure of

the allotment system. The facts themselves are much more convincing than argument. Through the operation of the allotment act of 1887 and dependent provisions for the disposal of "surplus" lands (i.e., lands not needed for making up the quota of individual allotments), and through the disposal of inherited lands, the Indian estate has shrunk from 136,000,000 acres in 1887 to 48,000,000 acres in 1933. In general, the best lands were lost first, and of the present Indian lands nearly half is low-grade, semidesert land. The facts clearly show that the Indians were not capable, as a rule, of exercising the responsibility of fee ownership.

Allotment was not merely inapplicable to the Indian character, but as a theory of land management it was inapplicable to most of the Indian lands. Allotment was indiscriminately applied to two types of land that can best be managed in large units in common ownership, namely, grazing and forest lands, which now comprise six-sevenths of the Indian lands. This is not a matter of theory but of ancient human experience. Common ownership of pasture and forest lands has been successfully practiced in Europe for centuries. It is brilliantly exemplified in our vast national forest system. The allotment of Indian forest and grazing lands has entailed almost insuperable obstacles to intelligent forest and range management.

This difficulty of working out a rational management of allotted grazing and forest lands has been further complicated by the steady loss of individual allotments to whites, especially of grazing lands, so that a grazing unit that might be consolidated out of individual allotments for Indian use may be so checker-boarded by white ownership that the only solution is to purchase the white-owned land.

The idea of Indian use of individual land for self-support was never a dominant part of the ideology of allotment—and, in spite of the fine advances in recent times in agricultural extension and education, Indian land use has never been adequately advanced either through realistic education or through furnishing the capital and equipment by which the Indians could be put

to work. There was, to be sure, the vague idea that pride of ownership would do the trick; but this idea insensibly gave way to the unavowed policy of liquidation—liquidation through sale, and if not through sale, at least through leasing. The rapid growth of leasing from 1895 on marks an important surrender to opportunism, since it was undoubtedly easier to lease land than to teach the Indians to use it; and in any event leasing became more and more inevitable as the Indian lands were shredded by allotment. The liquidation principle led also to a heavy overcutting of Indian timber, on the theory that the allottees would probably not hold the land long enough to get a second cut.

Ultimately this whole policy grew into an escape mechanism whereby the government, through a simple sleight-of-hand trick, would solve the Indian problem by getting rid of it. This trick was composed of two parts—the certificate of competency and the fee patent. If the great and wise government of the United States should declare an Indian competent to manage his affairs and give him an outright fee to a plot of land, would the government be responsible if that Indian should sell his land for liquor or finery or a motor car? This formula, dressed in impressive legalism, apparently quieted the moral scruples of those who enforced it against thousands of bewildered Indians.

The competency trick was the ultimate expression of the unreality of the formulas by means of which a solution of the Indian problem has been sought for several decades. It is curious that this ideology was so intrenched that the rapid disappearance of the Indian lands and the ever growing poverty of the Indians raised no serious question against the policy of allotment and competency itself. It was simply there, fatalistically working its course like a geological process, which could not be questioned, let alone stopped. So persistent has been this concept of the moral potency of private land-ownership for the Indian, regardless of the ruinous consequences, that many opponents of the Wheeler-Howard bill have branded the effort to stop further land loss as perpetual guardianship, and the effort

to bring about effective management of grazing and forest lands as communism. And in some places, notably in Oklahoma, the whole allotment-competency technique of capturing Indian property grew into an intrenched system, supported by public opinion, by the courts, by commercial organizations, and by high public officials and members of Congress—a form of cynical parasitism with few parallels in the civilized world.

Parallel with this peculiar land system, which has well-nigh led to the economic ruin of the Indian, was the doctrine of racial assimilation. By an educational short-cut the Indian would be rapidly inducted into white culture by the simple expedient of suppressing his own. That formula reached its maturity long before a more humane age had raised any question as to the moral justification of wiping out a primitive culture in the process of adapting it to a modern one. Complete Americanization of the red man, in the shortest possible time, was the unquestioned goal. To be sure, it was never clearly decided whether assimilation should mean absorption into the bloodstream of the white race or into the stream of its civic life by mere physical dispersal.

Indian policy has dealt violently and unskilfully with Indian social and political institutions, with Indian culture and language. It has not made use of the investigations and the skill of anthropologists. It has largely excluded Indian culture from the Indian schools. In the field of government, Indian institutions have been allowed to fall into decay or have been suppressed outright; and in their place has risen an extensive federal bureaucracy which has in general ruled the Indians without their consent or participation. This policy of suppressing Indian culture was in part a violent form of arrogant provincialism and in part the sheer blindness of the white man to a cohesive, organic culture, rich in tradition and art and form, as contrasted with his own cultural and social disintegration.

The center of gravity of the Wheeler-Howard bill shifts from the problem of assimilation to the problem of adaptation. In fact, it does not seek to answer the problem of assimilation.

Rather, it recognizes what is good in Indian culture, seeks to preserve and to build on it, as something which, the slow fruition of an imaginative and gifted race in close contact with nature for untold centuries, is inherently worth preserving, and shall not be deliberately destroyed. And it recognizes that the immediate economic chance of the Indian is on the soil, and it proposes to instrument that fact.

The land section (Title III) of the Wheeler-Howard bill has four main purposes: to give secure and permanent land tenure to the Indians; to increase the Indian lands by a systematic land-purchase program; to put the Indian lands into the type of ownership best suited to Indian use; and to provide capital for land use and other economic development.

The bill would prevent any further allotment, would extend the trust period indefinitely, would close the surplus lands to further entry and restore them to tribal status, and would forbid henceforth the alienation of Indian lands outside the tribe. Thus as a first step the Indians would be secure in what they now possess.

The bill would set up a systematic purchase program in order to permit colonizing landless groups of Indians who have no reservation or other land and to increase and consolidate the existing reservations that have been depleted or shredded by alienation. The purchase program should not be regarded as an act of charity, but rather as an act of restitution forced on the government because of its incompetent and faithless guardianship of Indian property.

The bill provides for the revestment of allotted and heirship lands into tribal ownership where necessary to assure consolidation and effective management, with compensation to the allottees or heirs in the form of certificates of ownership of equivalent values of tribal property or the right to use the same land or equal values of land. These provisions (eliminated from the compromise draft of the bill now before Congress) had the purpose chiefly of bringing the allotted forest and grazing lands into common ownership for efficient management. Every effort

at intelligent management of such lands is faced with the necessity of breaking down allotment lines either by revoking them or by a highly complicated and costly system of individual contracts with the owners. This is equally true whether the lands are leased or are used by the Indians. Allotment is unworkable in these types of land. The fact is demonstrated not only by the Indian lands, but by the history of the public domain, where the government has tried for seventy-five years without success to get these lands into individual ownership by means of the homesteading laws. The canny white man soon learned that these small parcels of semiarid lands were unsuited to yield a living, with the result that 180,000,000 acres of public domain are still unentered and will now be brought under communal management if the Taylor grazing bill is enacted. The white man was luckier than the Indian; he was not forced to take up a homestead, but allotment was forced on the Indian.

The heirship problem became, of course, the *reductio ad absurdum* of the allotment system. The Wheeler-Howard bill (in its original form) sought to overcome this evil by revesting heirship lands in the tribe, but with protection of the equities of the heirs.

The bill lays down a mandatory policy of proper range and forest management in order to preserve unimpaired the capital and productive value of these great assets. As I have already said, serious overcutting of Indian forests followed in the wake of the liquidation policy. The Wheeler-Howard bill prescribes sustained-yield forest management, which means limiting the annual timber cut to the annual growth.

These land provisions of the bill are for the protection not only of the Indians but of the government. For the government, in its amazing maladministration of the Indian estate, has not only all but ruined the Indians, but it has been faithless to its own selfish interests by destroying in large part the very endowment which it bestowed on the Indians by treaty and by law as the material basis for the solution of the Indian problem. Now, in one form or another, it is compelled to refinance its

Indian wards either by land purchase or by made work or by rations. It is sound government economy and finance to forbid the further wastage of the Indian endowment.

The ultimate goal of the new Indian land policy is to set the Indians at work on the land. Leasing must ultimately be abolished, as must the exploitation of Indian forest by whites. Indian land use presupposes also an Indian credit system, for which the Wheeler-Howard bill lays at least the ground work in creating a ten-million-dollar revolving loan fund.

What is the future of Indian land use? Large-scale commercial farming would require an enormous outlay of capital and would require a fund of managerial ability that would be too much to ask of the average Indian. Small-scale diversified farming primarily for self-support, combined with grazing and forest operations, are the types of land use dictated by experience. Because of the social nature and the rich cultural tradition of the Indian, land use should in general be centered about the village type of rural organization rather than the isolated homestead.

In the field of self-government, the Wheeler-Howard bill seeks at once to let the Indians share in the management of their own lives and property and to curb the dictatorial powers of the Indian Bureau. It sets up a system of Indian local self-government by charter, provides for the gradual transfer of functions now performed by the Indian Bureau to the chartered tribe, creates an Indian civil service, and places important curbs on the power of the Indian Bureau.

The municipal powers which the original Wheeler-Howard bill sought to confer on chartered communities have been eliminated from the compromise draft and replaced by simple provisions for tribal organization and incorporation. The immediate effect, however, will not be essentially different; for the first step in Indian self-government is to organize the Indian tribes to take over many of the local functions now performed by the Indian Bureau and to train and appoint Indians to carry on these functions and to manage property and other assets. The

bill provides for the preferential appointment of qualified Indians to vacancies in these local positions and permits the secretary of the interior to prescribe the qualifications. To make the Indian civil service possible on a broad scale, the bill provides an annual fund of \$250,000 for higher technical education of Indians. Finally, the bill places important restrictions on the Indian Bureau, especially in giving the Indian tribe the right to veto any expenditure of tribal funds without its consent.

The new Indian policy might be described as an instrumental policy. It has the two great goals of economic sufficiency and civic responsibility for the Indian, and it sets up the instruments by which he can achieve these goals in the framework of his inescapable environment and of his own nature. It has no formulas and no short-cuts. It goes down, for the foundation of Indian policy, to the bed rock of what the Indian has and what he is. It says that what little he has shall not be taken from him and that what he is shall not be rudely violated by a blind proselytism. It sets the Indian and his white advisers on the long, hard, but exciting road of letting the Indian save himself by liberating his own creative powers. At the root of all this is respect for human personality and a denial of the official dogma of the past that the Indian is an inferior person who must be turned into an imitation white man.

THE ECONOMIC REHABILITATION OF THE NAVAJOS

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THE technological advance of the last century has made of Dr. Malthus a false prophet. Though the birth-rate throughout the Western white world kept rising until the middle eighties of the last century while at the same time the death-rate decreased, bringing about the most startling population increase in the recorded history of this fertile world, the swarming multitudes did not begin to fight one another for the last crust of bread. On the contrary, beginning with the panic of 1873 there developed a series of surpluses of foods and fibers beyond the capacity of the effective demand to absorb, the population increase notwithstanding. As a result of these unconsumable surpluses of primary raw materials, the United States experienced three major depressions—1873-77, 1892-97, and 1929 to a still undetermined termination—which during their duration put the country's economic nose completely out of joint.

It was the tapping of the fossil fuels, the utilization of stored solar energy, that brought to an end the long period of chronic scarcity during which man worked from dawn until dark throughout the growing season for sufficient food and clothing to carry him through the winter. At his disposal was only the solar energy arriving during the one growing season; he could supplement muscular power only with the energy of wind and of falling water, and the use of even these was restricted by the lack of proper fuels with which to develop metallurgical processes. Therefore the life of the masses was a precarious thing, depending for its continuance largely on the vagaries and variations of solar energy.

The exploitation of solar energy stored millions of years ago in the form of coal and oil wrought a fundamental change in the conditions of production and distribution, a change so far reaching, so deep, and so drastic that the shock of it has still numbed our mental faculties. With amazing speed the Western white civilization changed from a condition of chronic scarcity to a period of chronic unbalanced surpluses in which thrift became a vice, extravagance a virtue, and waste the cause of economic health. We are still trying to learn the new economic and social alphabet based on a practically unlimited capacity to produce resting on a limited ability to consume.

Into this messy, muddled transitional chaos there is projected in outlines as sharply defined as the painted-desert ranges of their homeland the cultural and economic survival of the dead past, the eagle-beaked, free, and joyous tribe of still unassimilated Indians, the Navajos.

There are more than forty-five thousand of them, almost all of them full-bloods, inhabiting the sun-flooded mesas, the broad valleys, and mountains of northeastern Arizona, spilling over into New Mexico under the urge of the Malthusian law. This red island in the turgid white sea still depends on the seasonal solar energy for its survival. The plants and the animals produced this summer must carry the tribe through until next year. With the exception of a very small number of usually very old automobiles, the Navajos possess none of the modern means of production and distribution. Like the people of Abraham and Jacob, they wander in the desert with their flocks, relying upon the seasonal crop of grasses and shrubs to sustain the herds which furnish their principal sustenance.

Seventy years ago there were less than ten thousand of these roving raiders who would rather rob the peaceful Pueblos of their grain than grow it themselves. Kit Carson and many regiments of soldiers were needed to get them out of their exciting predatory habits. After years of guerilla warfare they were finally subdued and induced to go into the sheep business on a high and dry area of scant, uncertain rainfall—an area which now com-

prises some twenty-five thousand square miles and equals West Virginia in size. There their sheep and goats multiplied until now their number exceeds a million and a quarter head, or an average of twenty-seven sheep and goats per Navajo.

If there were an even distribution of the live stock and if there were an abundant supply of pasturage to maintain them, there would be no Navajo problem. With the scattered areas of dry-farming and irrigated lands on the enormous reservation, without the need of having to pay rent and taxes, the Navajos would be able to maintain themselves in food, clothing, fuel, and shelter by their own unaided, unsupervised efforts and still have sufficient leisure to cultivate the art of social intercourse, of venerating nature and their own gods in their own way, looking upon the white visitors, the white border towns, and their gaudy display with unenvious eyes.

If it is the citizen's first duty to provide the necessities of life for himself and his family by his own efforts, then the Navajo—and I am including the Navajo women and children in this generic term—is the country's most dutiful citizen. He (and she) has made a living, and an abundant living according to his standards, where an equal number of white families could not have survived. Over a long term of years he has enjoyed a greater degree of economic security than 98 per cent of his white fellow-citizens. He could build his home, his primitive hogan, with his own hands and those of his neighbors and friends; unlike the white American, he never had to stay in the open or sleep on a park bench, because he had built too many comfortable, warm rooms. Nor did he deny himself food because he had raised too many sheep. He was, and is, merely an untutored savage unable and unwilling to grasp the intricacies and economic psychoses of a civilization which is choking in its own fat.

According to his own standards, the Navajo has been, and is now, living in greater comfort and far greater security than 90 per cent of the white population. His garden patch, his sheep and goats, supply the bulk of his food—and it is nourishing,

well-balanced food. If the food supply had not been abundant and well balanced, the tribe could not have increased from fewer than ten thousand in 1869 to more than forty-five thousand in 1931. He has the shelter which suits his needs. His cash income, even in the lean year of 1933, averages around three hundred dollars per family of five. He derives this cash from the sale of lambs, from the disposal of the wool crop, from the sale of the Navajo rugs woven in the hogans on primitive looms, and from the sale of silver and turquoise jewelry hammered out by hand and decorated with the ancient symbols of the tribe.

It is interesting to note, by the way, that the sale of Navajo rugs and blankets has been affected by the rise of Hitler. There has been of late a distinct decline in the demand for the blankets bearing the ancient Indian swastika symbol.

Given a home and home-grown food free of taxes, rent, and interest; given horses for transportation and free range on which to feed them; given a cash income of two hundred to three hundred dollars per family, a deep attachment to the soil; given a love of song, of ceremonial dances, a poetic appreciation of painted hills, bold rocks, and of clouds drifting across cobalt skies; given all those things plus a keen sense of humor and of innate superiority—and why should anyone consider the Navajo tribe as a fit subject for economic rehabilitation?

That's where planning, Navajo national planning, comes in.

The tribe is about to justify the doleful predictions of Dr. Malthus. Twenty years ago it began to overtake its means of subsistence. Today it is so far ahead of them that a catastrophe is inevitable unless the economic activities of the tribe are basically reorganized.

Years ago, when the number of Navajo sheep was small, the Navajo country was a pleasant place, deficient in perennial water of course, but covered heavily with a seasonal growth of nourishing grass and mountain shrubs. It was the abundance of forage that brought about a rapid increase in the number of sheep and goats which, in turn, furnished the basis for a rapid increase in the population. As a result of this increase, plus the

Navajo method of handling their flocks, the entire reservation became badly overgrazed.

Overgrazing occurs when the animal population eats the grasses and the shrubs faster than they can grow. Weakened, the grasses decline in vigor, cannot bear seed, and eventually die, leaving the soil bare or sparsely covered with unappetizing weeds. But the loss of the grass is only the beginning. Once the soil is denuded, wind begins to move the real estate on a large scale. The heavy, capricious rain of the southwestern plateaus joins in the moving work, washing the fertile top soil away, forming gullies which cut back into the valleys, growing deeper, wider, and longer after every cloudburst, taking millions of tons of soil from where it belongs and moving it down the gullies into the streams, down the streams into the rivers, and finally depositing it behind the expensive dams holding back the water supply for the irrigated districts in the lower country.

In the Navajo country overgrazing has reached a peak. The process of soil erosion has already destroyed hundreds of thousands of acres of the best valley pasture. Sheet erosion and gully formation is proceeding at an ever increasing gait. As the gullies form, they drain the groundwater of the valleys, rendering them arid and incapable of supporting a grass cover. Deprived of valley and mesa grass, the flocks climb the hills and mountain sides, browsing on the brush until it, too, is destroyed and the thin soil departs, leaving the gaunt rockribs bare and sterile.

This destructive process feeds on itself and gains speed and momentum thereby. Where this year ten thousand acres go down the hill, next year fifteen thousand will go and twenty thousand the following year. The end result is desolation, picturesque and beautiful, but totally unproductive. Such is the genesis of the Painted Desert which traverses the heart of the Navajo country. Given just a few more decades and a continuation of the present methods, and most of the Navajo country will resemble the Painted Desert. On the Painted Desert not even the rangy Navajo sheep can make a living. Continuation

of present methods and conditions will inevitably mean the end of the Navajos as a tribe. Dispersal will mean deterioration and nostalgic death to most of the members of this virile race.

Overgrazing as a menacing evil had been recognized for several years, but no one had faced the inevitable consequences until John Collier, commissioner of Indian affairs, and Dr. H. H. Bennett, now head of the Soil Erosion Service of the Interior Department, looked intently through the empty eye-sockets of the grinning specter. The result of that look was the decision to seize the erosion problem with both hands and wring its neck, if the necessary means could be provided.

Thanks to the national crisis and the new spirit it brought into being, the means were provided, initially out of Public Works funds, followed by the selection of the Navajo area as a demonstration erosion-control project. That was the beginning and the easiest part of the enterprise.

Even before the beginning of actual work it was clearly realized that the cause of soil erosion—overgrazing—must be removed permanently if the erosion rate could be decelerated. That decision meant the number of sheep and goats on the reservation must be cut almost in half, must never be allowed to exceed 70 per cent of the existing flocks.

Last summer the Navajos maintained about 1,300,000 sheep and goats on their area. Considering the unequal distribution of the flocks, among the members of the tribe, this number was just about sufficient to supply the bulk of the tribe with a subsistence income, especially since depression prices had radically reduced the wool, blanket, and jewelry income of the Navajos. Yet six hundred thousand head must be removed from the reservation if its soil was to be saved, if the tribe itself was to be preserved.

To the Navajo the flocks of sheep and goats mean life, survival. They mean more. They mean social prestige. For them he has a personal, almost sentimental, attachment, not less real because at times he kills and eats them. Overgrazing had stolen on him so gradually that he had not yet realized its full import.

He still felt capable of keeping his flocks going. Hence the first task must be a full, detailed, technical explanation of the meaning of overgrazing, of the end result of soil erosion. And that explanation must be given in a language he does not understand, through the medium of interpreters who themselves might not be able to reproduce in Navajo the technical concepts set forth in English.

The rehabilitation program was formulated. It was decided that the first step must be a gradual but nevertheless speedy reduction in the number of live stock grazing on the reservation. Such reduction would inevitably mean a reduction in the Navajo income below the subsistence level. To overcome this obstacle it was necessary to open up other temporary sources of income to the Navajos. Fortunately it was possible to obtain allocation of funds for emergency conservation work, for a program of road-building, for the construction of community centers and day schools to supply centers of organization and education even in the remote parts of the reservation where thousands of children still lacked any kind of formal schooling. By undertaking these construction jobs with native materials and native labor, it would be possible to supply work which would at least in part make good the income deficit caused by the reduction of live stock.

And, of course, the enormous job of erosion control would afford employment to thousands of the Navajos for at least part of the time during the stock-reduction period. Various irrigation projects were authorized, principally to make possible the permanent support of several hundred Navajo families through intensive farming rather than stock-raising, but also to provide a number of jobs to able-bodied Indians during the transition period. A time table was worked out showing in detail and in chronological order the program of stock-reduction, the compensating work income, and the potential increase in the permanent income from the reduced flocks through range control and proper husbandry methods.

The plan looked fine—on paper. But would the Navajos see

the point, realize the importance of this long-time planning, and agree to co-operate? That question came up late last summer when the big white guns were beginning to pour shot and shell into the new citadel of national planning. In the most terrible, prolonged depression of modern times the white victims had failed to grasp the plain import of the situation even though they were feeling its pinch daily and most painfully. The full force of the erosion cataclysm was still years ahead of the Navajos; as yet they had barely noticed that something was wrong; they still believed that the purchase or assignment of more land for their flocks would remedy the trouble. Would it be possible to make them understand and act?

The Navajo tribal council of twenty-four delegates and alternates was called into session. With the delegates came some two thousand interested visitors from all parts of the reservation. For three days they listened to the explanations and expostulations of Commissioner Collier and his staff of specialists; hour after hour they sat, tensely patient, the tiny auditorium filled to capacity and beyond, rows upon rows of silent figures in gay blankets ranged on the outside, taking in the words of the interpreter as a loudspeaker blared them forth.

They got the story. They understood. They talked it over around the fires at night. It was a blow between the eyes. They took it standing. They debated the question. Unlike their white fellow-citizens, they grasped the connection between cause and effect, checked every stage of the argument and evidence—and accepted the long-term planning program submitted to them by the commissioner.

Their understanding was immediately put to the test. Would they be willing to dispose of one hundred thousand of their sheep of breeding age? After earnest, painful discussion they agreed to sell that number. Eight weeks later more than ninety thousand sheep had been delivered, shipped, and slaughtered for relief purposes.

At once a second, even more severe, test was made. Would they be willing to get rid of one hundred fifty thousand goats,

buying them from the owners at a nominal price with a government loan to be repaid out of tribal funds as these funds accrued out of tribal-oil royalties? Would they agree to castrate all the remaining billy goats and to sell a very heavy percentage of their ewe lambs so as to bring about herd reduction?

To this drastic proposal the Navajos also agreed, after prayerful earnest discussion by the delegates and an informal referendum among the members of the tribe.

Now the rehabilitation program, the first example of long-term planning with the full consent of those affected by it, is under way. A complete aerial survey of the reservation is under way. Several large demonstration areas are selected; some of them have been fenced and physical works have been built, always by the Navajos themselves with a minimum of white technical supervision. Biological methods of restoring the grass cover are under way. Plans are being worked out for the introduction of permanent range-control methods which will increase the carrying capacity of the reservation beyond the low point which must first be reached and enable the herdsmen to earn a larger amount of income per head than at present. Roads are being built, always planned to minimize erosion damage. Several of the community centers and day schools will be started next month. All of these activities are being integrated into the general long-term plan through which it is hoped so to change the economic activities of the Navajos that the inevitable complete rehabilitation at a later date will be forestalled.

SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE NAVAJO PROGRAM

*W. Carson Ryan, Jr., Director of Education,
U.S. Indian Service, Washington, D.C.*

IN VIEW of current discussions of the place of Indian culture in present-day life, it seems important at the outset to state that those of us who are working with Indian people today believe that there are significant things in Indian life that ought to be maintained and developed—things that have been utterly lost for most Indian tribes and will be lost for all unless definite efforts are made to save them. This is particularly true of the Southwest and the Navajo.

Integrity of Navajo life.—In planning work in the Navajo community this past year we have set up the following brief statement of principles:

It is assumed that in all efforts stimulated or carried on by the government or other outside interests in behalf of Indians the purpose is to be helpful while interfering as little as possible with existing modes of life. Navajo ways of doing things are to be assumed to be right except as they are found, by the experience of members of the tribe or others unselfishly interested in their welfare, to be detrimental to the Navajos or harmful to the rights of others.

Any intervention on the part of government and other agencies is not only to be premised on this right of the Navajos to live their own lives with a minimum of outside interference, but it is considered to be the duty of the government to assist them in safeguarding this independence, to protect and encourage it by equipping the Navajos with whatever will strengthen them in their place in the scheme of things, to supplement what they have with whatever may be found to be useful and good, building on the existing good in every case rather than tearing down, and helping the Navajo people to retain an understanding and appreciation of their own culture and their own resources that most other Indian groups have lost or are rapidly losing.

It is further assumed that isolation of any permanent sort is impossible for Navajos; that they have always been an adaptable people and will doubtless continue to be so; that they are already affected in countless ways by outside contacts, and that these will increase despite any efforts that may be made; and that it therefore becomes the duty of the government and friends of the

Indians to offset the objectionable elements in these contacts by encouraging and strengthening those things that Navajos have that are known to be valuable for them and for society as a whole.

An economic crisis.—In any social and educational program for Navajos we must begin with the economic need. No other approach could be justified. We have the evidence of competent authorities that unless the soil-erosion problem is solved for the Navajos, their land simply will not support them more than a few years longer. This is an immediate and urgent situation. To postulate a so-called educational program or any other kind of program in defiance of it would simply mean that we would have a program and no Indians!

An educational program.—But it is also an educational situation—not in the mere school sense, but fundamentally educational and developmental, and whatever our immediate solutions may be, the ultimate program is education in the largest and most complete sense of the word. Merely doing the things for the Navajos would have little value, even if it were feasible. The Navajo people have to be helped to understand what their situation is and how they can control it; they must learn the facts about erosion control, range management, and the rest, and they must above all learn the practices that will give them mastery over them. This is essentially an educational process, by whatever name it may be called.

Not mere "schools."—We have the money for the construction of community day-school plants, but we are not setting up mere "schools." Even the fact that some eight thousand or nine thousand of the fourteen thousand Navajo children of school age are not in school is not going to compel us to set ordinary schools going. As a matter of fact, in a few instances we are actually reducing the numbers of Navajo children in school by abolishing some boarding-school facilities without any immediate corresponding offset in terms of community day-school education for children. This is because we are convinced that any program of conventional schooling for children—or even a rather superior type of schooling that we might pro-

vide—would miss some of the most important needs of the Navajo country and the Navajo people today. Of course, we shall have to be careful in this particular part of our program not to destroy completely the confidence built up in some Indian families in favor of boarding-school education for young children even though we know it is not the sound and wholesome thing to have. We are obliged to make the adjustment in such a way that Indians themselves will see the wisdom and practicality of a new type of educational program.

Soil erosion even conditions the actual construction of these community centers. We undertook originally to plan a scheme of central and local community schools made possible in part by a modern transportation system. I am still convinced—and I know Commissioner Collier is—that the work Richard Tisinger did on this central-school project was one of the most resourceful and brilliant pieces of educational planning that has been done in or out of the Indian Service in recent years. But here we have had to check and recheck to make sure that even the location of these centers and schools does not interfere with the fundamental task of controlling soil erosion. Several locations have had to be abandoned even after the building program was inaugurated because the soil-erosion experts thought even small aggregations of people at a given locality might intensify the already drastic soil-erosion situation or endanger a possible program of land rehabilitation.

We are frankly experimenting at every point. We told the Navajos in council last October that these community day schools would have to be different from any ordinary schools that existed. We said to them:

They will be large enough in most instances to have shops, a health clinic with a doctor and nurse, home economics rooms, space for gardens and trees and agricultural work, a dining-room. They will be for adults as well as for children; real communities, Navajo community schools.

As to what shall be taught in these schools, you could and should have a great deal about your own Navajo economic life. This soil-erosion control, better grazing, those things should center in the school. Your children should be able to learn more rapidly than you and I have learned about the damages

that have been done by failure to care for the soil. You should have Navajo literature and history. Your children should know your history and the relation of that history to the rest of the world. They should help you in the preservation of your arts and crafts. The schools should be real Navajo schools, and we shall do our best to help you make them that kind of schools.

These schools will be day schools. I think, when we say that, we should understand, however, that they are to be just as good schools as the best schools we can have. They are to be day schools because so far as I can find out Indian parents, like parents anywhere in the world, want their little children in their own homes, and they are entitled to have them. We should not have to take your children hundreds of miles away to go to school. They should be near and should be in their own homes.

We think it particularly important that the adult members of the community, the older Indians themselves, take an active interest in the schools. We hope you will have in every one of these schools a real parents' organization; that you will feel free to use the school. A school is only in the long run the people, the children and the community. You will make the school. If you will take the opportunity that we think you now have you cannot only furnish a remarkable educational provision for your children and in turn control the whole community life, but you can set an example very much needed to other parts of the United States and the world.

Community activity first.—We have become more and more convinced of the economic necessity in connection with these community centers and schools—that the first and fundamental task the Navajos themselves face is to become masters of their economic salvation by learning what their difficulty is, how to control it, and how to keep it controlled permanently. We are calling these enterprises community centers rather than schools. The first people to be brought into the centers will be adults and older youth and, as fast as children themselves come in, the first job will be to start them in becoming soil-erosion conscious. Already one or two workers are carrying the soil-erosion message directly to the Navajos. As a matter of fact, the most important single educational work in the Navajo area is not being conducted by those of us in education at all but by the soil-erosion service. The three hundred to five hundred Navajos who have been doing the work at Mexican Springs Soil Erosion Experiment Station, building every conceivable variety of dam from the largest and most intricate to those that a few Navajo people themselves throw together with grass in an afternoon, are

focal points from which not only enlightenment on soil erosion but mastery of the technique of the fundamental reason for it are to be carried to every Navajo family. Mr. Woelke in his paper has told how the Navajo leaders themselves have taken drastic steps in the right direction. This itself has been a significant process of education—from the soil-erosion experts, through the Navajo workers at the experiment station, back to the chapter-houses, and wherever Navajos tend their sheep and carry on their everyday lives. Whatever educational forces are set going will have to be built on this emergency beginning.

Navajo leadership.—Once the economic program is under way and the fundamentals of it are beginning to be understood, it will be our task to see that other parts of a real educational program are brought in. We are trying to organize self-help in Navajo communities. We are trying to find young Navajos of as good training as possible who can bring to their own people the things that are urgently necessary. An Institute is to be worked out in the field of health education this summer, through the co-operation of the health and education divisions. One hundred Navajo young women from a number of our Southwest schools are to have an intensive month at Santa Fe in training to be home aids who will assist the field nurses in various Navajo communities. We are hopeful that possibly twenty-five of the one hundred can be employed this coming year in as many Navajo communities. Wherever there are intelligent and reasonably well-trained Navajo young men and young women, we are putting them into the communities not only to advance the health program that is needed but to introduce a number of other important things as well. Those of us who have not been stirred to action on trachoma, for example, and all that goes with it should hear Miss Sally Lucas Jean tell what she found in the Navajo country and explain what she knows can be done. I am convinced that unless we make the control of health and specifically the elimination of trachoma one of the most urgent and immediate projects we run the risk of a deserved national disgrace. As Miss Jean has convincingly shown, in many other

situations elsewhere in the world the educational program—children, adolescents, adults, everybody—can in a comparatively short time make this not a temporary clean-up but a genuine transformation.

Bilingualism.—These schools are to be bilingual. Every practical and cultural consideration in the Navajo country urges this. Soil-erosion assistance will have to be given through Navajo. In collaboration with anthropologists we are beginning this summer a plan whereby a number of competent Navajo young people will learn to record the Navajo language. We are hoping that our non-Navajo workers in the Navajo area will attempt to learn some Navajo, not with any expectation that a large number of them will become proficient in it, but in the belief that any attempt to master the speech of an Indian group will at least be that much in the direction of understanding something of its cultural background. Even more fundamentally, we have in the Navajo area one of the few opportunities remaining in Indian North America to make sure that a significant cultural survival in legend ritual and literature is maintained as the contribution of one group to the enrichment of their own lives and unquestionably to the enrichment of the lives of all of us.

These new centers and the whole educational program are to be staffed from the beginning, as far as possible, by Navajos. This means exactly what it says. In general, we shall not start communities until we have Navajo young people able to carry on at least some of the important elements. Our instructions are that white supervisors are to be reduced to an absolute minimum; the Indians are to be allowed to work out their own programs with as little interference as possible in all places where we are able to inaugurate the new communities.

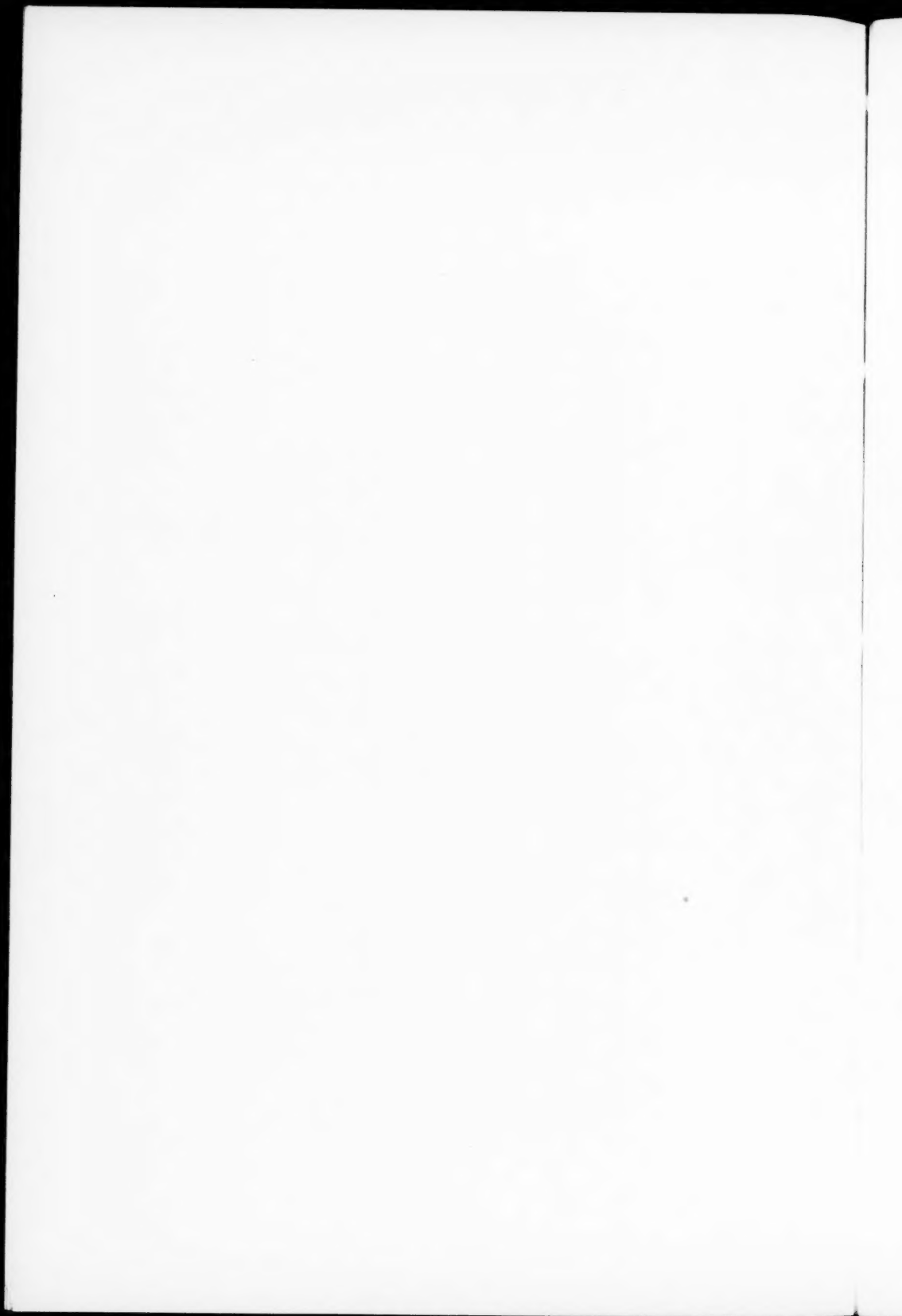
You have heard little of the ordinary school subjects in all of this. Some of us believe so strongly in an educational program that starts from community needs that we should like to be able to trust any school to start in the hope that it might respond to community needs. In the present instance, however, we have a

wholesome fear of getting something like a regular school system established. For that reason we are deliberately and drastically beginning with an attempt to meet community needs regardless of whether other educational people call it education or not, convinced that we can do a few of the things that have a right to survive out of the existing American school. We know that if the regular school once gets entrenched, no real community program will eventuate. We have hopes that if we start all over again, or nearly all over again, with a recognition of an immediate and future economic, social, health, and cultural need, we may be able to establish at least for one important Indian group the kind of education very much needed for the rest of America and the world.

Obviously, such a program cannot be the function of any one division or group of the Indian Service. Genuine co-operation of all the Indian Bureau forces and the Indians themselves is demanded.



PROGRAM



PROGRAM

GENERAL SESSIONS

- Sunday, May 20—Invocation. Rev. Irvin E. Deer, Executive Secretary, Kansas City Council of Churches, Kansas City.
Address of Welcome. R. J. Clark, President, Kansas City Council of Social Agencies, Kansas City.
The President's Address: The Social Worker in the New Deal. William Hodson, Commissioner, City Department of Public Welfare, New York City. Page 3.
The Federal Relief Administration. C. M. Bookman, Executive Secretary, Community Chest, Cincinnati. Page 13.
- Monday, May 21—Relief and Reconstruction. Rexford G. Tugwell, Undersecretary of Agriculture, Washington, D.C. Page 32.
- Tuesday, May 22—Taxation and Social Work. Herbert D. Simpson, Professor of Public Finance, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. Page 49.
- Wednesday, May 23—Annual Business Session. Conference Dinner. The Dinner was held this year to honor social workers in public service, federal, state, and local—both those who have given years of labor to the promotion and development of public departments of welfare and those who have contributed so largely of their skill and strength during these past years of economic and social emergency.
Invocation. Rev. Thomas F. Lillis, Bishop of the Diocese of Kansas City of the Roman Catholic Church.
In Appreciation. Rev. F. M. Eliot, Unity Church, St. Paul.
Government and Social Welfare. Harry L. Hopkins, Federal Relief Administrator, Washington, D.C. Page 69.
Kansas City's Reception to the President and the Conference.
- Friday, May 25—Population Trends and Social Work. Warren S. Thompson, Director, Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, Oxford, Ohio. Page 80.
- Saturday, May 26—Conference Luncheon. Invocation. Rabbi Samuel S. Mayerberg, Congregation B'Nai Jehudah, Kansas City.
Social Work Marches On. Rev. Monsignor Robert F. Keegan, Executive Director, Catholic Charities, New York City. Page 98.

SECTION MEETINGS

THE ADMINISTRATION OF EMERGENCY RELIEF

- Monday, May 21—*Section A*. Analysis of the Federal Program of Relief to Families and Transients. Joanna C. Colcord, Director, Charity Organization Department, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City, and the following Committee: Allen T. Burns, Executive Director, Community Chests and Councils, New York City; C. C. Carstens, Director, Child Welfare League of America, New York City; Fred I. Daniels, Director, Temporary Emergency Relief Administration, New York City; Alma Haupt, Associate Director, National Organization for Public Health Nursing, New York City; Dorothy C. Kahn, Director, Philadelphia County Relief Board, Philadelphia; Russell Kurtz, Field Representative and Secretary, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City; Bertha McCall, Director, National Association Trav-

eler's Aid Societies, New York City; Edith Mitchell, Executive Director, Children's Association, White Plains, New York; Ellen C. Potter, M.D., Medical Director, Department Institutions and Agencies, Trenton; Henrietta Roelofs, Secretary, Public Affairs Committee, National Board, Y.W.C.A., New York City. Page 111.

Section B. The Maintenance of Physical and Mental Health. Kendall Emerson, M.D., Managing Director, National Tuberculosis Association, New York City, and the following Committee: Lewis Carris, Director, National Committee for the Prevention of Blindness, New York City; Helen Crosby, Welfare Division, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, New York City; S. J. Crumbine, M.D., Director, American Child Health Association, New York City; Howard Green, Executive Secretary, Cleveland Health Council, Cleveland; Alma Haupt, Associate Director, National Organization for Public Health Nursing, New York City; Clarence F. Hincks, M.D., Director, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York City; David Holbrook, Executive Secretary, National Social Work Council, New York City; Ellen C. Potter, M.D., Director of Medicine, State of New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton; William F. Snow, M.D., Director, American Social Hygiene Association, New York City. Page 130.

Section C. The New and Changing Relations of Local, State, and Federal Governments. Louis Brownlow, Director, Public Administration Clearing House, Chicago, Illinois.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF EMERGENCY RELIEF FROM THE LOCAL POINT OF VIEW

Tuesday, May 22—*Section A.* What Is Adequate Relief? A panel meeting led by Dorothy C. Kahn, Director, Philadelphia County Relief Board, Philadelphia.

Section B. The Problems of Re-employment

1. How Far Can the Unemployed Be Reabsorbed in Industry? Isador Lubin, Commissioner of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. Page 145.
2. How Can the Stranded Unemployed Be Readjusted to Industry? M. R. Traubue, Director, Bureau of Educational Research, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Page 148.
3. The United States Employment Service and Its Future Development. W. Frank Persons, Director, United States Employment Service, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.

Section C. Relief Programs

1. The State Program of Relief. Aubrey Williams, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Washington, D.C. Page 157.
2. The City Program of Relief. Walter Pettit, Assistant Director, New York School of Social Work, New York City.
3. The Rural Community Program of Relief. Mary Irene Atkinson, Director, Division of Charities, Ohio State Department of Public Welfare, Columbus, Ohio. Page 166.

SOME CURRENT PROBLEMS

Wednesday, May 23—*Section A.* Special Relief Problems

1. The Negro. Forrester B. Washington, Director, Negro Work, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Washington, D.C. Page 178.
2. The Foreign-Born. Edith Terry Bremer, Executive Director, National Institute of Immigrant Welfare, New York City.
3. The Unattached Woman. Mary Gillette Moon, Director, Women's Work, Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, Chicago. Page 195.

Section B. The New Leisure and the Field of Social Work. Jesse F. Steiner, Professor of Sociology, Washington University, Seattle.

Section C. The Relative Responsibility of Public and Private Social Work. Kenneth L. M. Pray, Director, Pennsylvania School of Social and Health Work, Philadelphia. Page 204.

Section D. Lay Participation in Social Work

1. As It Affects the Lay Worker. Mrs. John Pratt, President, Association of Junior Leagues of America, New Orleans. Page 217.
2. As It Affects the Private Social Agency. Virginia Howlett, District Secretary, Family Welfare Association, Milwaukee.
3. As It Affects the Public Social Agency. Hertha Kraus, Family Welfare Association of America, New York City. Page 223.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL WORK TO SOCIAL JUSTICE

Friday, May 25—*Section A.* What Is Social Justice? Paul H. Douglas, Department of Economics, University of Chicago, Chicago. Page 230.

Section B. Social Insurance. Mollie Ray Carroll, Director, University of Chicago Settlement, Chicago. Page 251.

Section C. Social Legislation. Joseph P. Chamberlain, Columbia University, New York City. Page 263.

PLANNING FOR SOCIAL SECURITY THROUGH SOCIAL CONTROL

Saturday, May 26—*Section A.* The Common Goals of Labor and Social Work. Mary van Kleeck, Director, Division of Industrial Studies, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City. Page 284.

Section B. Adequate Medical and Health Care. John Kingsbury, Director, Milbank Memorial Fund, New York City. Page 304.

DIVISION MEETINGS

DIVISION I. CHILDREN

(Joint Session with the Girls Protective Council)

Community Responsibility toward the Youth of Today

1. Building through Environment, or What Case-Work Facilities Does a Community Need for Treatment of Youth? Jacob Kepecs, Jewish Home Finding Society, Chicago. Page 327.
2. Youth and Community Opportunities for Education and Recreation. Lea Taylor, President, National Federation of Settlements, Chicago.

Discussion Leader: Alfred Whitman, Children's Aid Association, Boston.

Group Discussion 1. The Place of the Institution in a Community Program for Child Care

Discussion Leader: Mrs. Robert Lee Duckworth, Methodist Orphans Home Association, St. Louis.

Group Discussion 2. The Foster Parent as Both Student and Teacher

Discussion Leader: Elsa Castendyke, Executive Secretary, Washburn Home, Minneapolis.

Group Discussion 3. (Joint Session with the National Probation Association)

Newer Aspects of Detention Care

Discussion Leader: Arnold L. Wills, Superintendent, Detention Home, Pittsburgh.

(Joint Session with Division IV—The Family, Group Discussion 4. See their program)

What Constitutes Neglect and Necessitates the Removal of a Child from His Own Home

(Joint Session with Division VII—Mental Hygiene. See their program)

Child Care and Mental Hygiene

Business Session of Division I, Children

Group Discussion 1. (Joint Session with Division IV—The Family)

Relationships of Private Family and Private Children's Work As They Are Now Developing Over the Country

Discussion Leader: Douglas Falconer, Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, Brooklyn.

Group Discussion 2. Child Welfare in a County Welfare Program

Discussion Leader: Edwin Solenberger, Secretary, Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Group Discussion 3. Is Adoption Everybody's Business?

Discussion Leader: Ora Pendleton, Children's Bureau, Philadelphia.

DIVISION II. DELINQUENTS AND CORRECTION

(Joint Session with the Girls' Protective Council and the National Probation Association)

Delinquency in Relation to Leisure-Time Problems

1. The Importance of a Community Recreation Program in Relation to Delinquency. Clifford R. Shaw, M.D., Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago.

2. Community Responsibility for Delinquency. James S. Plant, M.D., Director, Essex County Juvenile Clinic, Newark, New Jersey. Page 335.

Discussant: Mrs. LaVona C. Inman, Representing Girls' Protective Council.

(Joint Session with Division VII—Mental Hygiene. See their program)

Restricted Limitations of Psychoanalysis in Social Work

(Joint Session with the National Probation Association and Girls' Protective Council)

Prevention of Delinquency

1. Experiments in Preventing Juvenile Delinquency in Various Parts of the United States. Alida C. Bowler, Director, Delinquency Unit, Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. Page 339.

2. A Co-ordinated Program for the Prevention of Delinquency and Maladjustment. Thomas W. Hopkins, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Board of Education, Jersey City, New Jersey. Page 350.

Discussants: Charles L. Chute, Executive Director, National Probation Association, New York City; Judge Charles W. Hoffman, Cincinnati.

Business Session

(Joint Session with Division IX—Administration of Public Social Work and the American Public Welfare Association)

The Problem of Employment in the Penal and Correctional Institutions

1. Prisoners Should Work. Sanford Bates, Director, Bureau of Prisons, United States Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

2. The Relation of Classification to an Institution Employment Program. Calvin Derrick, Superintendent, New Jersey State Home for Boys, Jamesburg, New Jersey.

Discussant: Burdette G. Lewis, American Public Welfare Association, Chicago.

DIVISION III. HEALTH

A Program for Medical Care

1. Organization for Better Medical Care. Michael M. Davis, Director, Medical Services, Julius Rosenwald Fund, Chicago.

2. Health and Economic Areas. Howard Whipple Green, Secretary, Cleveland Health Council, Cleveland. Page 361.

(Joint Session with Division VII—Mental Hygiene. See their program)

Dynamic Elements in Health

(Joint Session with Division V—Industrial and Economic Problems, and the American Association for Labor Legislation)

Mrs. Jewell W. Swofford, Chairman of the United States Employees' Compensation Commission, Kansas City, presiding

Industrial Health

1. Health Insurance. I. M. Rubinow, Secretary, B'Nai B'Rith, Cincinnati. Page 376.
2. Health Hazards in Industry. Fred M. Wilcox, General Secretary, Wisconsin Conference of Social Work, Madison, Wisconsin.

Discussion Leader: John B. Andrews, Secretary, American Association for Labor Legislation, New York City.

(Joint Session with the American Social Hygiene Association)

A. Morris Ginsberg, M.D., Kansas City, presiding

Prevention and Control of Syphilis among Negroes

1. From the Medical Point of View. J. E. Perry, M.D., Founder and Superintendent Emeritus, Wheatley Provident Hospital, Kansas City.
2. Health Education among Negroes. Margaret Wells Wood, Field Representative, American Social Hygiene Association, New York City.

Discussants: C. C. Dennie, M.D., Kansas City; P. C. Turner, M.D., Kansas City.

Business Session

DIVISION IV. THE FAMILY

The Case-Work Responsibility of the Unemployment Relief Agency

1. Case-Work Approach. Gordon Hamilton, New York School of Social Work, New York City. Page 389.
2. Continuing Case-Work Services—Minimum and Maximum. Clara Paul Paige, Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare, Chicago. Page 399.

Group Discussion 1. What Are the Criteria for Deciding the Kind of Case Work Treatment Which Shall Be Offered to a Family?

What Are the Techniques Involved in an Exploratory or Study Period While Such a Decision Is Being Reached?

Discussion Leader: Laura Merril, Family Society, Philadelphia.

Group Discussion 2. Putting Case Work in "Intake" from the Standpoint of Values to the Family (applying Both to Unemployment Relief and Private Family Agencies.)

Discussion Leader: Beatrice Z. Levy, United Charities, Chicago.

Group Discussion 3. Practical Possibilities of Retraining the Unemployed and Putting Them Back into Employment.

Discussion Leader: A. A. Heckman, Board of Public Welfare, St. Paul.

Group Discussion 4. (Joint Session with Division I—Children)

What Constitutes Neglect and Necessitates the Removal of a Child from His Own Home?

Discussion Leader from Children and Family Field: Douglas P. Falconer, Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, Brooklyn.

Group Discussion 5. Community Implications of Case Work

Discussion Leader: Hertha Kraus, Family Welfare Association of America, New York City.

Group Discussion 6. Contributions to More Effective Environmental or Opportunity Case Work Which Accrue from the Insight Gained in Therapy.

Discussion Leader: Bertha Reynolds, Smith College School of Social Work, Northampton, Massachusetts.

Group Discussion 7. Room. Relationship of the Family Welfare Agency to Workers on Inadequate Wage. Under What Circumstances Is It Justifiable for the Family Agency To Go into the Situation?

Group Discussion 8. How To Keep Our Relationship with the Client So That Other Dependence Besides the Economic Does Not Enter In.

Group Discussion 9. What Success in Establishing Personnel Standards?—Comparison of Methods and Some Evaluation of Personnel.

Discussion Leader: Ruth Hill, Personnel Secretary, Family Welfare Association of America, New York City.

Group Discussion 10. (Joint Session with Division IX—Administration of Public Social Work, Group Discussion 3. See their program)

Public Responsibility for Transients

(Joint Session with Division V—Industrial and Economic Problems. See their program)

Effects of the N.R.A. Program on the Workers

(Joint Session with the Committee on Relations to Social Agencies of the National Association of Legal Aid Organizations. See their program)

The Family and the Law

Family Social Work in Relation to Family Life

Margaret E. Rich, Assistant General Director for Education, Family Welfare Association of America, New York City, Marjorie Boggs, District Secretary, Associated Charities, Cleveland.

Business Session

(Joint Session with Division I—Children, Group Discussion 1. See their program)

Relationships of Private Family and Private Children's Work As They Are Now Developing over the Country

DIVISION V. INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Work Not Charity

1. Finding Work for Four Million. Aubrey Williams, Assistant Administrator, Federal Civil Works Administration, Washington, D.C. Page 408.
2. Selecting Men and Women for the Job. W. Frank Persons, Director, United States Employment Service, Washington, D.C.

Discussion Leader: E. G. Steger, Director, Community Fund, St. Louis.

(Joint Session with the American Association for Labor Legislation)

Enforcement of N.R.A. Codes

1. The Organization of the Compliance Division of the N.R.A. Robert K. Ryland, State N.R.A. Compliance Director, St. Louis.
2. State Support for N.R.A. Codes through Improved State Legislation. Tracy Copp, Agent, Vocational Rehabilitation, Federal Board for Vocational Education, Washington, D.C. Page 418.

Discussion Leader: Clara M. Beyer, Director, Industrial Division, Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.

(Joint Session with Division III—Health. See their program)

Industrial Health

(Joint Session with Division IV—The Family and the Church Conference of Social Work)

Effect of the N.R.A. Program on the Workers

1. The Future of Unionism. John P. Frey, Secretary-Treasurer, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D.C.
2. Effect of the N.R.A. on Labor. Mary van Kleeck, Director, Department of Industrial Studies, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City. Page 428.
3. Effect of the N.R.A. on Labor Standards. Rev. Francis J. Haas, Member, National Labor Board, N.R.A., Washington, D.C.

Discussion Leader: James Myers, Industrial Secretary, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, New York City.

Business Session

(Joint Session with the Conference on Workers' Education. See their program)

What Is Workers' Education?

DIVISION VI. NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY LIFE

What Is Really Happening to Local Communities and How Do We Know?

1. Rural Communities. Walter A. Terpenning, Western State Teachers College, Kalamazoo, Michigan.
 2. Urban Communities. R. Clyde White, Indiana University, Indianapolis.
- Future Training of Group Workers in the Light of Current Social Change
1. Changing Relations between Group Work and Case Work. Margaret Svendsen, Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago.
 2. New Developments in the Field of Education.
 3. Developments in Sociological Theory. Louis Wirth, University of Chicago, Chicago.
 4. Changing Community Situations. Noel P. Gist, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.

Discussion Leaders: Roy Sorenson. Neva L. Boyd.

Business Session

The Challenge of the New Leisure

1. The Challenge to the Schools. George Melcher, Superintendent of Schools, Kansas City.
2. The Challenge to Government. George A. Lundberg, Columbia University, New York City.
3. The Challenge to Industry. Mollie Ray Carroll, University of Chicago Settlement, Chicago.
4. The Challenge to Social Work. Esther M. Hawes, Young Women's Christian Association, Pittsburgh.

DIVISION VII. MENTAL HYGIENE

(Joint Session with Division X—The Immigrant. See their program)

The Emotional Conflicts of the Second Generation—A Discussion of American-born Children of Immigrant Parents

(Joint Session with Division III—Health)

Dynamic Elements in Health

1. Mental Development of the Child and Changes Toward Maturity. Lawson G. Lowrey, M.D., Former Director, Institute for Child Guidance, New York City.
2. The Physical Growth and Development of the Child and Its Significance for Mental Attitude and Behavior. Frederic W. Schlut, M.D., Richard T. Crane Professor and Chairman, Department of Pediatrics, University of Chicago, Chicago. Page 437.

(Joint Session with the American Association of Hospital Social Workers. See their program)

Mental Hygiene and Medical Social Work

(Joint Session with Division II—Delinquents and Correction)

1. The Restricted Limitations of Psychoanalysis in Social Work. Karen Horney, M.D., Institute for Psychoanalysis, Chicago.
2. The Individual in a Changing Social Order. James S. Plant, M.D., Director, Essex County Juvenile Clinic, Newark.

Discussion Leader: Stanley P. Davies, General Director, Charity Organization Society, New York City.

Business Session

(Joint Session with Division I—Children)

Child Care and Mental Hygiene

1. Promoting the Preventive Function of a Children's Agency by Skills in Intake. Bessie E. Trout, Supervisor of Intake, Children's Aid Society, New York City.
2. Child Placing—a Factor in Social Security. Hyman S. Lippman, M.D., Director, Amherst H. Wilder Child Guidance Clinic, St. Paul.

DIVISION VIII. ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES

(Joint Session with Division IX—Administration of Public Social Work and the American Public Welfare Association)

Reorganization of Local Social-Work Programs

1. From a Public-Agency Viewpoint. Rowland Haynes, State Director of Relief, Lincoln, Nebraska.
2. From the Private-Agency Viewpoint. Pierce Atwater, Executive Secretary, Community Chest, St. Paul. Page 446.

Discussion Leader: Bradley Buell, Associate Director, Community Chests and Councils, New York City.

Basic Research in Planning Social-Work Programs. Ewan Clague, Director of Research, Community Council, Philadelphia.

Frederick F. Stephan, Director, Bureau of Social Research, Federation of Social Agencies of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh. Page 456.

Discussion Leader: Samuel A. Goldsmith, Executive Director, Jewish Charities of Chicago, Chicago.

(Joint Session with the National Committee on Volunteers in Social Work)

Social-Work Leadership

Arch Mandel, Executive Secretary, Community Chest, Dayton.

Izetta Jewell Miller, St. Louis.

Business Session

DIVISION IX. ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC SOCIAL WORK

(Joint Session with Division VIII—Organization of Social Forces. See their program)

Reorganization of Local Social-Work Programs

Public Welfare of Today

1. Public Welfare in 1934. Frank Bane, Director, American Public Welfare Association, Chicago.
2. Organization of a National Welfare Program. David C. Adie, Commissioner, State Department of Public Welfare, Albany, N.Y.

Discussion Leader: Edwin D. Solenberger, Secretary, Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Group Discussion 1. Revision of Public Welfare Laws

Discussion Leader: Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, Graduate School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago.

General Principles Involved

Discussion Leader: Edith Abbott, Dean, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago.

Group Discussion 2. Personnel for Public Welfare Service

Discussion Leader: Ellen C. Potter, M.D., Medical Director, Department of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton, New Jersey.

This discussion period explored the present qualifications and methods of selection of public social service personnel as practiced by regular Civil Service procedure; by

Emergency Relief; experimental methods in use in California, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Cook County, Illinois; and the English system.

Conclusions were digested and recorded

Participants: Martha Chickering, University of California, Berkeley; Mary Irene Atkinson, Department of Welfare, Columbus, Ohio; Harrison Dobbs, University of Chicago, Chicago; Margaret Steel Moss, Department of Welfare, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania; Charles P. Messick, Civil Service Commission, Trenton, New Jersey; Marietta Stevenson, American Public Welfare Association, Chicago; Harvey Walker, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

Group Discussion 3. (Joint Session with Division IV—The Family)

Public Responsibility for Transients

Discussion Leader: A. Wayne McMillen, Graduate School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago.

The Citizen and Public Welfare

1. From the Point of View of the Chief Executive of a State. Alice F. Liveright, Secretary of Welfare, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.
2. From the Point of View of Emergency Relief. W. S. Reynolds, Executive Secretary, Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, Chicago.
3. From the Point of View of a Taxpayer. Carl H. Chatters, Executive Director, Municipal Finance Officers' Association, Chicago.

Discussion Leader: Fred K. Hoehler, Director of Public Safety, Cincinnati.

Business Session

(Joint Session with the Committee on Citizens' Councils of the National Municipal League. See their program)

Constructive Economy in Government

(Joint Session with Division II—Delinquents and Correction. See their program)

The Problem of Employment in the Penal and Correctional Institutions

DIVISION X. THE IMMIGRANT

(Joint Session with Division VII—Mental Hygiene)

The Emotional Conflicts of the Second Generation—a Discussion of American-born Children of Immigrant Parents

1. The Social Setting. Evelyn Hersey, Executive Secretary, International Institute, Philadelphia.
2. Cultural Conflicts within the Individual. Temple Burling, M.D., Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago.

Discussion opened by Grace F. Marcus, Case Work Consultant, Charity Organization Society, New York City.

(Joint Session with National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship. See their program)

Nationality Problems

(Joint Session with the Conference on Immigration Policy. See their program)

Needed Changes in Our Immigration and Naturalization Laws and Procedure

Immigration Legislation and Administration

1. Current Trends in Immigration and Naturalization. Colonel Daniel W. MacCormack, United States Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. Page 465.
2. The Role of Our Consuls in Controlling the Flow of Immigration. John Farr Simmons, Chief, Visa Division, Department of State, Washington, D.C.

Discussion Leader: Read Lewis, Foreign Language Information Service, New York City.

Business Session

(Joint Session with the Committee on Relations with Social Agencies of the National Association of Legal Aid Organizations)

Social Justice for the Immigrant

1. The Immigrant before Our Courts. Sarah B. Schaar, Supervisor, Legal Aid Department, Jewish Social Service Bureau, Chicago.
2. International Legal-Aid Problems. David Wainhouse, Director American Branch, International Migration Service, New York City.

DIVISION XI. PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS AND EDUCATION

Government and Social Work

1. Our Illusions Regarding Government. Mary van Kleeck, Director, Division of Industrial Studies, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City. Page 473.
2. Promotion of National and State Social Legislation by Social Workers. Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, Professor, Graduate School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago. Page 486.
3. Promotion of Local Public Welfare Programs. Peter Kasius, General Manager, Provident Association, St. Louis. Page 495.

(Joint Session with Division XII—Educational Publicity and Social Work Publicity Council)

Interpreting the Profession of Social Work to the Public

How Can Employers, Clients, and Supporters Recognize Good Social Work?

1. What Are the Basic Unities in Social Work? E. C. Lindeman, Professor of Philosophy, New York School of Social Work, New York City. Page 504.
2. Are There Any Distinguishing Characteristics of Competence in Professional Social Work upon Which the Public May Safely Rely? Kenneth L. M. Pray, Dean, Pennsylvania School of Social Work, Philadelphia. Page 517.

Problems of Professional Organization

1. Official Recognition and Status of the Social Worker (Progress in State Registration and Certification, Civil Service Standards, etc.). Martha Chickering, University of California, Berkeley. Page 523.
2. Voluntary Codes for Social-Work Agencies. David Holbrook, Secretary, National Social Work Council, New York City.
3. New Forms of Social Workers' Organization. Joseph Levy, Jewish Home Finding Society, Chicago. Page 532.

Business Session

DIVISION XII. EDUCATIONAL PUBLICITY

What Testimony Does Social Work Have To Give concerning the Economic Crisis?

This session consisted of three demonstrations, namely, (a) a panel, (b) a small discussion group, and (c) a forum.

Participants: Rev. Father John O'Grady, Secretary, National Conference of Catholic Charities, Washington, D.C.; Leah Feder, Washington University, St. Louis; Jessie F. Binford, Director, Juvenile Protective Association, Chicago; Margaret Wilson; John Ihlder; John F. Hall, Executive Secretary, Community Fund, Seattle.

(Joint Session with Division XI—Professional Standards and Education. See their program)

Interpreting the Profession of Social Work to the Public

What Appeal Should Private Agencies Make on Behalf of Their Continued Support?

Business Session

COMMITTEE ON THE AMERICAN INDIAN

Economic Rehabilitation of the Indians

1. Land and Self-Government for Indians. Ward Shepard, Specialist in Land Policies, United States Indian Office, Washington, D.C. Page 539.
2. Is the Proposed New Program, as Embodied in the Wheeler-Howard Bill, Desirable and Feasible? Allan Harper, American Indian Defense Association, Washington, D.C.

Discussants: Lawrence Lindley, Indian Rights Association, Philadelphia; Rudolph Hertz, Head of Santee Indian School, Santee, Nebraska.

Business Session

Informal Program

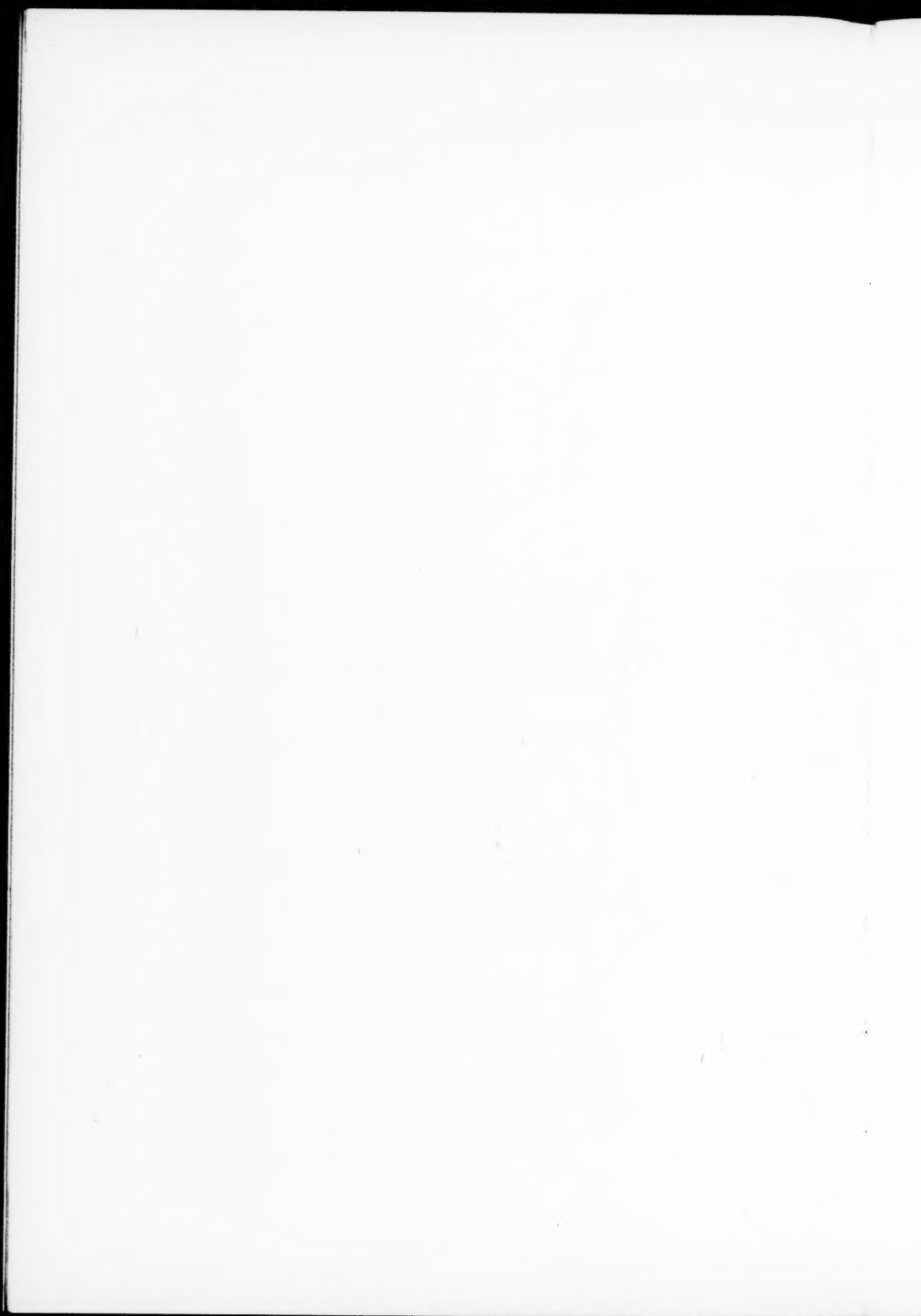
A Plan of Social Economy for the Navajos

1. Economic Rehabilitation for the Navajos. Walter E. Woelke, Field Representative of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C. Page 548.
2. Social and Educational Implications of the Navajo Program. W. Carson Ryan, Jr., Director of Education, United States Indian Service, Washington, D.C. Page 557.

Discussion Leader: Oliver LaFarge, National Indian Association, New York City.



BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS



PART I

BUSINESS ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE FOR 1934

OFFICERS

President, William Hodson, New York City.
First Vice-President, J. Prentice Murphy, Philadelphia; *Second Vice-President*, Mary L. Gibbons, New York City; *Third Vice-President*, Joel D. Hunter, Chicago.
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General Secretary, Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio.

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Ex officio: William Hodson, President; J. Prentice Murphy, First Vice-President; Charles C. Stillman, Treasurer. *Term expiring 1934*: Sanford Bates, Washington; Richard C. Cabot, M.D., Cambridge, Massachusetts; Edwin D. Solenberger, Philadelphia; Emil G. Steger, St. Louis; Lea D. Taylor, Chicago; Forrester B. Washington, Atlanta. *Term expiring 1935*: Pierce Atwater, St. Paul; Frank Bane, Chicago; Paul T. Beisser, Baltimore; Rhoda Kaufman, Atlanta; Karl de Schweinitz, Philadelphia. *Term expiring 1936*: Anita Eldridge, San Francisco; William J. Ellis, Trenton, New Jersey; William Hodson, New York City; Katharine F. Lenroot, Washington; Harry L. Lurie, New York City. *Chairmen of Divisions*: Lawrence C. Cole, Cleveland; William J. Ellis, Trenton, New Jersey; Virginia R. Wing, Cleveland; Edward Lynde, New York City; Mary Anderson, Washington; Stuart A. Queen, St. Louis; Herbert E. Chamberlain, Chicago; Otto F. Bradley, Minneapolis; Margaret Reeves, Santa Fe; Florence Cassidy, New York City; Harry L. Lurie, New York City; E. C. Lindeman, New York City.

CONFERENCE COMMITTEES

(Following are the committees for 1933-34, including the new members and officers elected at Detroit.)

COMMITTEE ON PROGRAM

Ex officio: William Hodson, New York City; Frank J. Bruno, St. Louis; Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio. *Term expires 1934*: Betsy Libbey, Philadelphia; Rev. Frederick Siedenbureg, Detroit. *Term expires 1935*: Florence Hutsinpillar, Washington; George Rabinoff, New York City. *Term expires 1936*: Stanley Davies, New York City; Gordon Hamilton, New York City.

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BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS

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COMMITTEE ON TIME AND PLACE

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EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

Frank J. Bruno, St. Louis, President; Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio, Editor; Katharine Hardiwick, Boston, 1934; Jessie F. Binford, Chicago, 1935; Mary E. Hurlbutt, New York City, 1936.

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Secretary: Elsa Castendyke, Minneapolis

COMMITTEE

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	New York City		

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Loula Dunn.....	Montgomery	Leonard W. Mayo.....	Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.
Leon W. Frost.....	Detroit		

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Charles L. Chute, New York City, representing the National Probation Association.

Courtenay Dinwiddie, New York City, representing the National Child Labor Committee.

Pauline Fairchild, Cleveland, representing the American Association of Visiting Teachers.

Ruth Roberts Mix, New Haven, representing the Girls' Protective Council.

Bert Printz, Youngstown, Ohio, representing the Big Brother and Big Sister Federation.

Emma C. Puschner, Indianapolis, representing the American Legion, National Child Welfare Division.

Marjorie Crain Upton, New York City, representing the National Federation of Day Nurseries.

DIVISION II. DELINQUENTS AND CORRECTION

Chairman: William J. Ellis, Trenton, N.J.

Vice-Chairman: Justin Miller, Durham, N.C.

Secretary: Henrietta S. Additon, New York City

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Jane M. Hoey.....New York City	Miriam Van Waters.Framingham, Mass.

TERM EXPIRES 1935

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Sanford Bates.....Washington	William J. Ellis.....Trenton, N.J.
Arthur L. Beeley.....Salt Lake City	George M. Read.....Detroit
Jessie F. Binford.....Chicago	

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Charles E. Hughes, Jr....New York City	Kenyon Scudder.....Los Angeles
Herbert C. Parsons.....Boston	

ASSOCIATE GROUP REPRESENTATIVES

Charles L. Chute, New York City, representing the National Probation Association.

John D. Crowley, Cambridge, representing the American Legion, National Child Welfare Division.

Mrs. George V. McIntyre, Chicago, representing the Big Brother and Big Sister Federation.

Ruth Roberts Mix, New Haven, representing the Girls' Protective Council.

DIVISION III. HEALTH

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Eleanor E. Kelly.....Boston	Mary Ross.....New York City
Robert W. Kelso.....Washington	Evart G. Routzahn.....New York City
S. C. Kingsley.....Philadelphia	

BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS

TERM EXPIRES 1935

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Bleecker Marquette.....	Cincinnati	Katharine Tucker.....	New York City

TERM EXPIRES 1936

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Albert H. Jewell.....	Kansas City	Estelle Warner.....	Washington

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 Valeria H. Parker, M.D., New York City, representing the American Social Hygiene Association.

DIVISION IV. THE FAMILY

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Vice-Chairman: Frances Taussig, New York City
Secretary: Francis McLean, New York City

TERM EXPIRES 1934

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Sara Alice Brown.....	New York City	Rose J. McHugh.....	New York City
A. A. Heckman.....	St. Paul		

TERM EXPIRES 1935

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	New York City	Evelyn P. Johnson.....	Milwaukee
Susan D. Copland.....	Detroit	Florence Nesbitt.....	Chicago
Frederick Daniels.....	Syracuse	Esther Twente.....	Kansas City
Leah Feder.....	St. Louis	Helen Wallerstein.....	Philadelphia
J. Blaine Gwin.....	Washington		

TERM EXPIRES 1936

G. B. Clarke.....	Montreal	Betsey Libbey.....	Philadelphia
Angela Cox.....	Atlanta	Mary Luella Sauer.....	Pittsburgh
Mrs. Edward Lewis.....	Chicago	Eva Smill.....	New Orleans

ASSOCIATE GROUP REPRESENTATIVES

Rev. C. Rankin Barnes, New York City, representing the Episcopal Social Work Conference.
 Brigadier Louis C. Bennett, Chicago, representing the Salvation Army.
 J. Blaine Gwin, Washington, representing the American National Red Cross.
 Katharine Hardwick, Boston, representing the American Association of Schools of Professional Social Work.
 Violet Kittner, Cleveland, representing the National Conference of Jewish Social Service.

Francis H. McLean, New York City, representing the Family Welfare Association of America.

Ethel Taylor, New York City, representing the Child Welfare League of America.

Marjorie Crain Upton, New York City, representing the National Federation of Day Nurseries.

Marjory C. Warren, Boston, representing the National Association of Traveler's Aid Societies.

Rev. L. Foster Wood, New York City, representing the Church Conference of Social Work.

Margaret Wells Wood, New York City, representing the American Social Hygiene Association.

DIVISION V. INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Chairman: Mary Anderson, Washington

Vice-Chairman: John A. Lapp, Chicago

Secretary: Dorothea de Schweinitz, Philadelphia

TERM EXPIRES 1934

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John A. Fitch.....New York City	Rev. Frederic Siedenburg.....Detroit
Paul U. Kellogg.....New York City	William H. Stead.....Minneapolis

TERM EXPIRES 1935

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Lucy P. Carner.....New York City	Helen Hall.....Philadelphia
Elisabeth Christman.....Washington	W. Frank Persons.....Chicago
Tracy Copp.....Washington	Dorothea de Schweinitz....Philadelphia

TERM EXPIRES 1936

Paul L. Benjamin.....Buffalo	Rev. John R. Mulroy.....Denver
Elizabeth S. Magee.....Cleveland	Philip Randolph.....New York City
Leifur Magnusson.....Washington	Ben M. Selekman.....Boston
James Mullenbach.....Chicago	Agnes Van Driel.....Chicago

ASSOCIATE GROUP REPRESENTATIVES

Courtenay Dinwiddie, New York City, representing the National Child Labor Committee.

Fred K. Hochler, Cincinnati, representing the American Public Welfare Association.

Spencer Miller, Jr., New York City, representing the Episcopal Social Work Conference.

James Myers, New York City, representing the Church Conference of Social Work.

DIVISION VI. NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY LIFE

Chairman: Stuart A. Queen, St. Louis.

Vice-Chairman: J. Edward Sproul, New York City

Secretary: C. M. Chick, Kansas City

BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS

TERM EXPIRES 1934

Robbins Gilman.....	Minneapolis	Robert W. Kelso.....	Washington
Ray Johns.....	Detroit	Walter W. Pettit.....	New York City
Clara A. Kaiser.....	Cleveland		

TERM EXPIRES 1935

Helen Hall.....	Philadelphia	Eugene T. Lies.....	New York City
Eugene Kinckle Jones.....	New York City	Eduard C. Lindeman.....	New York City
Paul U. Kellogg.....	New York City	Lea D. Taylor.....	Chicago

TERM EXPIRES 1936

Eleanor Flynn.....	Chicago	Wilber I. Newstetter.....	Cleveland
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Helen Morten.....	Boston		

ASSOCIATE GROUP REPRESENTATIVE

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Vice-Chairman: Hyman S. Lippman, M.D., St. Paul

TERM EXPIRES 1934

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Asher T. Childers, M.D.....	Cincinnati	Christine C. Robb.....	New York
Elizabeth H. Dexter.....	New York City	George Stevenson, M.D.....	New York City
E. Van Norman Emory, M.D.....	New Haven	J. C. Thurrott, M.D.....	Flint, Mich.

TERM EXPIRES 1935

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Stanley P. Davies.....	New York City	Sarah Ivins.....	New York City
Mrs. W. F. Dummer.....	Chicago	George Reeve, M.D.....	Cleveland
Sarah C. Hartman.....	Richmond	H. M. Tiebout, M.D.....	New York City

TERM EXPIRES 1936

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Margaret Barbee.....	Pittsburgh	Franklin G. Ebaugh, M.D.....	Denver
Augusta Bronner, M.D.....	Boston	Charlotte Towle.....	Chicago

ASSOCIATE GROUP REPRESENTATIVES

Elizabeth Brockett, East Orange, N.J., representing the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers.

Gladys Hall, Portland, Ore., representing the American Association of Visiting Teachers.

Margaret Reeves, Santa Fe, representing the Child Welfare League of America.

DIVISION VIII. ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES

Chairman: Otto F. Bradley, Minneapolis
Vice-Chairman: Roy M. Cushman, Boston
Secretary: Mary B. Stotsenberg, Louisville

TERM EXPIRES 1934

Pierce Atwater.....St. Paul	John F. Hall.....Seattle
Otto F. Bradley.....Minneapolis	Carter Taylor.....Harrisburg
Raymond Clapp.....Cleveland	

TERM EXPIRES 1935

Charles J. Birt.....Madison, Wis.	E. J. Larrick.....Akron, Ohio
Roy M. Cushman.....Boston	Wilfred S. Reynolds.....Chicago
Percival Dodge.....Detroit	

TERM EXPIRES 1936

Ralph H. Blanchard.....New York City	Arch Mandel.....Dayton, Ohio
Frederick I. Daniels.....New York City	Mary B. Stotsenburg.....Louisville
J. Howard T. Falk.....Vancouver	

ASSOCIATE GROUP REPRESENTATIVES

Brigadier J. J. Allen, New York City, representing the Salvation Army.
 Robert E. Bondy, Washington, representing the American National Red Cross.
 Lucy Carner, New York City, representing the National Board, Young Women's Christian Associations.
 Harry Greenstein, Baltimore, representing the National Conference of Jewish Social Service.
 Wilbur F. Maxwell, Pittsburgh, representing the Community Chests and Councils.

DIVISION IX. ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC SOCIAL WORK

Chairman: Margaret Reeves, Santa Fe
Vice-Chairman: Arthur W. James, Richmond
Secretary: Edwin D. Solenberger, Philadelphia

TERM EXPIRES 1934

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Sanford Bates.....Washington	Walter V. McCarthy.....Boston
W. S. Bixby.....Nashville	Ruth Taylor.....East View, N.Y.
Jeffrey R. Brackett.....Boston	Mrs. A. M. Tunstall.....Montgomery
J. A. Brown.....Indianapolis	Mabel Weed.....Redwood City, Calif.
John L. Gillin.....Madison, Wis.	

TERM EXPIRES 1935

Grace Abbott.....Washington	Blanche L. LaDu.....St. Paul
Mrs. W. T. Bost.....Raleigh	A. W. Laver.....Toronto
Amos W. Butler.....Indianapolis	Gay B. Shepperson.....Atlanta
Calvert H. Estill.....Charleston, W.Va.	Marietta Stevenson.....Chicago
Arthur W. James.....Richmond	George S. Wilson.....Washington

BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS

TERM EXPIRES 1936

David Adie.....	Albany, N.Y.	Emil Frankel.....	Trenton, N.J.
A. L. Bowen.....	Springfield, Ill.	Leroy A. Halbert.....	Washington
Richard K. Conant.....	Boston	Mrs. I. Albert Liveright.....	Harrisburg
Grube B. Cornish.....	South Portland, Me.	Helen C. Mawer.....	Tallahassee
Louise Cottrell.....	Portland, Ore.	Ellen C. Potter, M.D.....	Trenton, N.J.

ASSOCIATE GROUP REPRESENTATIVES

Rose Porter, New York City, representing the Family Welfare Association of America.

Ella Weinfurther Reed, Cincinnati, representing the National Association of Traveler's Aid Societies.

Elizabeth Wisner, New Orleans, representing the American Association of Hospital Social Workers.

DIVISION X. THE IMMIGRANT

Chairman: Florence G. Cassidy, New York City

Vice-Chairman: Leifur Magnusson, Washington

Secretary: Zena Saul, Pittsburgh

TERM EXPIRES 1934

Edith Abbott.....	Chicago	Bruce M. Mohler.....	Washington
E. S. Howard.....	Cincinnati	Cecilia Razovsky-Davidson	
Mary E. Hurlbutt.....	New York City		New York City
Katherine M. Kohler.....	Minneapolis	Marian Schibsky.....	New York City

TERM EXPIRES 1935

Jane Addams.....	Chicago	Max J. Kohler.....	New York City
Sophonisba P. Breckinridge.....	Chicago	Ruth Larned.....	New York City
Edith Terry Bremer.....	New York City	Florina Lasker.....	New York City
Jane Perry Clark.....	New York City	Read Lewis.....	New York City
Allen Eaton.....	New York City	Mrs. Nathaniel Thayer.....	Boston

TERM EXPIRES 1936

Mrs. Leo Bernstein.....	New York City	Mrs. Kenneth F. Rich.....	Chicago
Ethel Bird.....	New York City	Alice Sickels.....	St. Paul
Frank J. Bruno.....	St. Louis	George L. Warren.....	New York City
Mary McDowell.....	Chicago	Bessie B. Wessel.....	New London, Conn.
Alice O'Connor.....	Boston	Aghavnie Y. Yeghcnian.....	New York City

DIVISION XI. PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS AND EDUCATION

Chairman: Harry L. Lurie, New York City

Vice-Chairman: Agnes Van Driel, Chicago

Secretary: Walter West, New York City

TERM EXPIRES 1934

Edith M. H. Baylor.....	Boston	Forrester B. Washington.....	Atlanta
Philip Klein.....	New York City	Helen Leland Witmer	
Ellery F. Reed.....	Cincinnati		Northampton, Mass.

TERM EXPIRES 1935

R. E. Arne.....	Berkeley	Eva Smill.....	New Orleans
Irene Farnham Conrad.....	Syracuse	Mrs. A. M. Tunstall.....	Montgomery
Dorothy C. Kahn.....	Philadelphia		

TERM EXPIRES 1936

Ewan Clague.....	Philadelphia	Kate MacMahon.....	Boston
Leah Feder.....	St. Louis	Florence Sytz.....	New Orleans
S. C. Kohs.....	New York City	Aubrey Williams.....	Chicago

ASSOCIATE GROUP REPRESENTATIVES

Perry T. Denune, Columbus, Ohio, representing the State Conference Secretaries.
 Sarah Ivins, New York City, representing the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers.

M. J. Karpf, New York City, representing the American Association of Schools of Professional Social Work.

John D. Kenderdine, New York City, representing the *Survey*.

Ellen C. Potter, M.D., Trenton, N.J., representing the American Public Welfare Association.

DIVISION XII. EDUCATIONAL PUBLICITY

Chairman: E. C. Lindeman, New York City

Vice-Chairman: David Liggett, Indianapolis

Secretary: Paul Komora, New York City

TERM EXPIRES 1934

D. M. LeBourdais.....	Toronto	Elmer Scott.....	Dallas, Tex.
A. Wayne McMillen.....	Chicago	Leon Whipple.....	New York City
Kenneth L. Messenger	Wethersfield, Conn.		

TERM EXPIRES 1935

Louise M. Clevenger.....	St. Paul	Mary S. Sims.....	New York City
Olga Edith Gunkle.....	Denver	Anne Sprague.....	Detroit
Albert H. Jewell.....	Kansas City		

TERM EXPIRES 1936

Margaret Byington.....	New York City	Elizabeth Nutting.....	Dayton, Ohio
Arthur Guild.....	Richmond	Leroy Ramsdell.....	Hartford, Conn.
H. E. Kleinschmidt, M.D.	New York City	Elizabeth Sanborn.....	Kansas City
		Virginia Wing.....	Cleveland

ASSOCIATE GROUP REPRESENTATIVES

Louise Franklin Bache, New York City, representing the Community Chests and Councils.

Maude Bryan Foote, Newark N.J., representing the State Conference Secretaries.

Albert H. Jewell, Kansas City, representing the National Tuberculosis Association.

John D. Kenderdine, New York City, representing the *Survey*.

Charles C. Stillman, Columbus, Ohio, representing the Social Work Publicity Council.

PART II

BUSINESS ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE FOR 1935

OFFICERS

President, Katharine F. Lenroot, Washington, D.C.

First Vice-President, Monsignor Robert F. Keegan, New York City; *Second Vice-President*, Helen Hall, New York City; *Third Vice-President*, C. Whit Pfeiffer, Kansas City, Missouri

Treasurer, Charles C. Stillman, Columbus, Ohio.

Secretary, Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Ex-officio: Katharine F. Lenroot, President; Monsignor Robert F. Keegan, First Vice-President; Helen Hall, Second Vice-President; C. Whit Pfeiffer, Third Vice-President; Charles C. Stillman, Treasurer. *Term expiring 1995*: Pierce Atwater, St. Paul; Frank Bane, Chicago; Maud Barrett, New Orleans; Paul T. Beisser, Baltimore; Mary Gibbons, New York City; Rhoda Kaufman, Atlanta; Blanche LaDu, St. Paul; Rev. Daniel N. McLachlan, Toronto; Karl de Schweinitz, Philadelphia; Ruth Taylor, East View, New York; Forrester B. Washington, Washington, D.C.; Walter Whitson, Houston, Texas; *Term expiring 1936*: Anita Eldridge, San Francisco; William J. Ellis, Trenton; William Hodson, New York City; Katharine F. Lenroot, Washington, D.C.; H. L. Lurie, New York City; *Term expiring 1937*: Mary Irene Atkinson, Columbus, Ohio; Stanley P. Davies, New York City; Samuel A. Goldsmith, Chicago; John F. Hall, Seattle; Kate McMahon, Boston.

CONFERENCE COMMITTEES

COMMITTEE ON PROGRAM

Ex officio: Katharine F. Lenroot, Washington, D.C.; William Hodson, New York City; Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio. *Term expiring 1935*: Florence Hutsin-pillar, Washington, D.C.; George Rabinoff, New York City. *Term expiring 1936*: Stanley P. Davies, New York City; Gordon Hamilton, New York City. *Term expiring 1937*: Fred Johnson, Detroit; Bleecker Marquette, Cincinnati, Ohio. *Section Chair-men*: Mary Irene Atkinson, Columbus, Ohio; Grace Coyle, Cleveland, Ohio; Douglas Falconer, Brooklyn, New York; Rev. Francis J. Haas, Washington, D.C.

COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

Jacob Kepecs, Chicago; Rev. John C. Carr, Buffalo; Ewan Clague, Philadelphia; Loula Dunn, Montgomery, Alabama; Lyman S. Ford, Kansas City, Kansas; A. D. Hardie, Toronto; Eugene K. Jones, New York City; Lea D. Taylor, Chicago; Florence M. Warner, Phoenix, Arizona.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

James Owens, Albany, New York; Charlotte Whitton, Ottawa, Canada; Elizabeth Wisner, New Orleans.

COMMITTEE ON TIME AND PLACE

Albert H. Jewell, Kansas City, Missouri, Chairman; W. J. Adams, Oklahoma City; A. Ethel Barger, Milwaukee; Alida C. Bowler, Carson City, Nevada; Constance Currie, St. Paul; Violet Greenhill, Austin, Texas; Lillian J. Johnson, Omaha; Frances Knight, Detroit; Mrs. I. Albert Liveright, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania; Jean C. Meserve, Stanford, Connecticut; Fred W. Morrison, San Jose, California; Elizabeth Neth, Portland, Oregon; Lawrence A. Oxley, Washington, D.C.; William H. Pear, Boston; John P. Sanderson, Rochester, New York; William Savin, Washington, D.C.; Eva Smill, New Orleans; Ethel Verry, Chicago; Monsignor R. Marcellus Wagner, Cincinnati; Anna D. Ward, Baltimore; Mary Phelps Wheeler, Jacksonville.

COMMITTEE ON THE AMERICAN INDIAN

Mary Louise Mark, Columbus, Ohio, Chairman; Gertrude Bonnin, Washington, D.C.; R. T. Bonnin, Washington, D.C.; Alida Bowler, Washington, D.C.; Mark L. Burns, Cass Lake, Minnesota; Elizabeth Bender Cloud, Lawrence, Kansas; Henry Roe Cloud, Lawrence, Kansas; Wade Crawford, Klamath, Oregon; Mrs. Wade Crawford, Klamath, Oregon; Edith M. Dabb, New York City; Tom Dodge, Gallup, New Mexico; Ben Dwight, Durant, Oklahoma; Allan G. Harper, Washington, D.C.; Monsignor William Hughes, Washington, D.C.; Oliver LaFarge, New York City; Robert T. Lansdale, Washington, D.C.; Tony Luhan, Taos Pueblo, New Mexico; Lewis Meriam, Washington, D.C.; Margaret Reeves, Santa Fe, New Mexico; W. Carson Ryan, Washington, D.C.; M. K. Sniffen, Philadelphia; Barton I. Staples, Collidge, New Mexico.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

Katharine F. Lenroot, Washington, D.C., President; Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Editor; Jessie F. Binford, Chicago, Chairman; William Hodson, New York City, 1934; Mary E. Hurlbutt, New York City, 1935; Paul L. Benjamin, Buffalo, 1936.

COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL
CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

Frank J. Bruno, St. Louis, Chairman; Grace Abbott, Chicago; Paul Beisser, Baltimore; C. M. Bookman, Cincinnati; Ida M. Cannon, Boston; Mollie Ray Carroll, Chicago; Joanna C. Colcord, New York City; Michael M. Davis, Chicago; James L. Fieser, Washington, D.C.; Homer Folks, Yonkers, New York; Mrs. John M. Glenn, New York City; William Hodson, New York City; Mary Hurlbutt, New York City; Maurice J. Karpf, New York City; Paul U. Kellogg, New York City; Jacob Kepecs, Chicago; John A. Kingsbury, New York City; Porter R. Lee, New York City; Katharine F. Lenroot, Washington, D.C.; E. C. Lindeman, New York City; Leifur Magnusson, Washington, D.C.; Bruce Mohler, Washington, D.C.; J. Prentice Murphy, Philadelphia; Emily Noble Plehn, Berkeley, California; Karl de Schweinitz, Philadelphia; William F. Snow, New York City; Linton B. Swift, New York City; Frances Taussig, New York City; Rev. Worth M. Tippy, New York City; Mary Van Kleeck, New York City; George L. Warren, New York City; Forrester B. Washington, Atlanta; Walter M. West, New York City; Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio, Secretary.

PART III

BUSINESS SESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE: MINUTES

Monday, May 21, 1934, 8:30 P.M.

The Secretary announced the following committees appointed by the President: The Committee on Elections: Marcus Fagg, Florida, Chairman; H. C. Chandler, Texas; Judge John J. Sonstebly, Illinois.

Committee on Tellers: Raymond Clapp, Ohio, Chairman; Ethel Barger, Wisconsin; George M. Treager, Connecticut; Ralph Barrow, Massachusetts; Charles E. Dow, Minnesota.

In each case the Committee has power to add to its number as needed.

Official notice was given that the polls would be open for election at the registration desk at Conference headquarters on Wednesday, May 23, from 11:00 A.M. until 3:00 P.M., and on Thursday, May 24, from 8:00 A.M. until 5:00 P.M.

Wednesday, May 23, 1934, 11:00 A.M.—Annual Business Meeting

The President, Mr. William E. Hodson of New York presided. The report of the Committee on Time and Place was called for. The acting Chairman, Mr. A. Wayne McMillen, reported that invitations for the 1936 annual meeting of the Conference had been received from Buffalo, Chicago, Columbus, Ohio, Indianapolis, Seattle, and Washington, D.C. After careful consideration of all these invitations, it was the unanimous recommendation of the Committee that the annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work of 1936 be held in Washington, D.C. This recommendation was approved by the Executive Committee of the Conference.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted that the annual meeting of the Conference in 1936 be held in Washington, D.C., and that the dates thereof be left to the discretion of the Executive Committee.

The report of the Treasurer was called for. In his absence it was read by the General Secretary as follows:

The Treasurer herewith submits two statements. The first is the financial statement for the four months' period, January 1 to April 30, showing all cash receipts and disbursements during this period. The second is the budget statement covering the same period of time, showing all receipts and disbursements on 1934 business only. At best this report can only be an interim report, as our fiscal year now coincides with the calendar year.

The financial statement shows a cash balance at the beginning of the fiscal period of \$2,983.23, and total cash receipts of \$12,247.30, or a total of all receipts and balances of \$15,230.53. The cash receipts include \$1,175.00 of guaranteed institutional memberships from Montreal and Kansas City which were payable during

the last fiscal year but which were not received until after January 1. This amount added to the cash balance of December 31 of \$2,983.23 more than paid the one bill of \$4,047.55 carried over from the preceding fiscal year and reported in the Annual Financial Statement published in the January *Bulletin*. In other words, all of the 1933 business transactions have now been completed. The total cash disbursements, including the item of \$4,047.55 mentioned above, during the first four months of the year were \$13,894.76, leaving a cash balance on hand April 30, 1934, of \$1,335.77.

The budget statement includes only income and disbursements that are properly chargeable to 1934. All items of 1933 business are eliminated from this budget statement. This is done in order to give a clear-cut picture of our financial operations in relation to the budget adopted at the beginning of the fiscal year. The budget statement shows receipts of \$11,042.30 with a budget balance of \$18,957.70 still to be received. Please remember that this statement is as of April 30 and does not include any of the income received during the month of May. The total budget expenditures during this same period are \$9,847.21, with an estimated budget balance of expenditures of \$20,022.79. To meet the estimated expenditures for the balance of the year we have a cash balance of \$1,335.77 plus estimated receipts of \$18,957.70 which will leave an estimated balance on December 31, 1934, of \$270.68.

The budget statement shows that we are living within our income and that both income and expenditures are following very closely the estimates made on January 1.

In the judgment of your Treasurer this interim report shows that the Conference is on a sound financial footing, and that our budgetary expectations are being realized. There must be no let-up in the loyal support of Conference members. On the other hand, the Conference staff are making and will continue to make every effort to keep the expenditures within the budget and the income of the Conference. The details of this report will be published in the next issue of the Conference *Bulletin*.

Respectfully submitted,

C. C. STILLMAN, *Treasurer*

BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS

BUDGET STATEMENT

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

(January 1-April 28, 1934)

	Budget 1934	Actual Jan. 1- April 28, 1934	Budget Balance	
<i>Income:</i>				
Membership.....	\$25,000.00	\$10,613.97	\$14,386.03	
Guaranties.....	2,000.00		2,000.00	
Registration.....	2,000.00		2,000.00	
Miscellaneous.....	1,000.00	428.33	571.67	
Total.....	\$30,000.00	\$11,042.30	\$18,957.70	
Cash balance, April 30.....			\$1,335.77	\$20,293.47
<i>Expenditures:</i>				
Salaries.....	\$14,000.00	\$5,840.30	\$8,159.70	
Travel.....	3,850.00	1,369.10	2,480.90	
Printing.....	7,500.00	1,388.42	6,111.58	
Postage and express.....	2,100.00	596.25	1,503.75	
Supplies.....	800.00	221.27	578.73	
Telephone and telegraph.....	350.00	121.36	228.64	
Rent.....	720.00	240.00	480.00	
Equipment and repairs.....	150.00	30.84	119.16	
Miscellaneous.....	400.00	36.22	363.78	
Refunds.....		3.45	3.45	
Total.....	\$29,870.00	\$9,847.21	\$20,022.79	
General administration.....	\$12,250.00	\$4,954.25	\$7,295.75	
Membership and publicity.....	200.00	23.52	176.48	
Annual meeting.....	2,300.00	1,166.37	1,133.63	
Proceedings and Index.....	5,300.00	384.06	4,915.94	
Bulletin.....	2,600.00	815.90	1,784.10	
Office operation.....	6,820.00	2,492.56	4,327.44	
Other.....	400.00	10.55	389.45	
Total.....	\$29,870.00	\$9,847.21	\$20,022.79	\$20,022.79
Estimated balance, December 31, 1934.....				\$270.68

MINUTES

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FINANCIAL STATEMENT

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

(January 1-April 28, 1934)

Operating balance, January 1..... \$ 2,983.23

Receipts:

Membership.....	\$11,788.97
Contributions.....	167.00
Sales, <i>Bulletin</i>	5.02
Sales, <i>Proceedings</i>	60.08
Refunds.....	179.65
Miscellaneous.....	16.58
<i>Index</i>	30.00

Total..... \$12,247.30

Total receipts and balance..... \$15,230.53

Expenditures:*

Salaries.....	\$ 5,840.30
Travel.....	1,369.10
Printing.....	4,905.11
Postage.....	1,014.71
Supplies.....	274.21
Telephone and telegraph.....	121.36
Rent.....	240.00
Equipment and repairs.....	30.84
Miscellaneous.....	95.68
Refunds.....	3.45

Total..... \$ 13,894.76

Balance..... \$ 1,335.77

* Functional distribution of expenditures:

Administration.....	\$ 4,954.25
Membership and publicity.....	23.52
Annual meeting.....	1,166.37
<i>Proceedings and Index</i>	4,431.61
<i>Bulletin</i>	815.90
Office operation.....	2,492.56
Other.....	10.55

Total..... \$13,894.76

After discussion and upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to adopt the report of the Treasurer.

The President as Chairman of the Program Committee of the Conference, in accordance with the instructions of the Conference at the annual business session a year ago, presented the following recommendations of the Program Committee for the reorganization of the program organization of the Conference. These recommendations were approved by the Executive Committee of the Conference. The President summarized the complete report as printed here.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE PROGRAM COMMITTEE FOR
THE REORGANIZATION OF THE PROGRAM

(As amended and adopted by the Executive Committee, January 7, 1934)

At its annual business meeting in Detroit last June, the National Conference of Social Work unanimously voted to instruct the Program Committee:

"To study carefully the whole divisional organization of the Conference, its weaknesses and its strengths, and to recommend to the Executive Committee such reorganization, changes or modifications of our permanent program organization as may seem desirable. The recommendations should be made not later than the January, 1934 meeting of the Executive Committee in order to allow ample time for their presentation through the Bulletin to the membership of the Conference for action at the annual meeting in Kansas City in 1934."

If we sense the opinion of the Conference membership correctly any plan of reorganization of the program structure should provide at least for the following characteristics:

A. *Democratic control.*—The Conference constituency has as wide a variety of interests as social work itself. Most of these interests wish to find an opportunity of expression from time to time. No single small self-perpetuating group can for long arrange programs that will give proper opportunity for this expression. The program building mechanism must be sensitive to the expressed Conference needs for social work in all of its wide variety of interests. Hence the particular group responsible for program at any given time should be representative of the Conference membership as to function, geography, racial, and religious organization. It should be so constituted as to provide for (1) continuity of thought and action and (2) a certain proportion of new thinking and personnel. It should, in the main, be elected by the Conference membership or by their elected representatives (the Executive Committee).

B. *Co-ordinated planning.*—The program should be the result of the co-ordinated thinking, planning, and action of the various groups responsible for program. Last year fifty-four different groups (Divisions, Associate and Special Groups) arranged programs. The only device for co-ordinating these programs was the Program Conferences held in October and January of each year. This device has worked reasonably well under our present organization. Its weak point is that it can influence programs only after Divisions have established tentative plans. Associate Groups, as a rule, wait until the Division programs are tentatively established before planning their programs. Real co-ordinated planning of program would provide for Division programs to be worked out in accordance with plans developed from the beginning by all Division Committees working together.

C. *Elasticity and ability to change.*—A most irritating weakness of the present program organization is the lack of power lodged anywhere to change the program structure, when desirable, either by addition or subtraction. The death rate of Divisions since their establishment (1917 for most of them) has been exactly zero and the voluntary reduction in number of meetings from the total number allowed has been very little higher. The pressure on time has been so great that new topics needing presentation and discussion can find no expression in the Conference program either because they are not within the scope of a Division or within the interest of a Division committee. The result has been that this material was lost to the program or found expression as a special group which at times has developed into an Associate Group. A new plan of organization of the program should provide for definite reconsideration of Divisions or sections, special committees and the like. Power should be lodged somewhere, probably in the Program Committee, to make changes at any time in order to adapt the program organization to the needs in any particular year without the neces-

sity of formal vote by the Conference membership at an annual meeting or action by the Executive Committee.

D. *Simplification.*—The present multiplicity of Divisions with their seeming duplication of interests is confusing to the attendant at the annual meeting. The existing Divisions have developed along topical, or organizational, and functional lines. Within the necessary time limits, there is no avoiding of widespread conflict of interest. (During the past few years there has been very little duplication of content in the program.) It is extremely difficult to center attention purposely on specially important topics or themes. The new organization ought to provide a structure simple enough to be easily understood and to have the minimum of conflicting interests. There is no perfect plan of organization but great improvements can be made on the present one.

E. *Less strain on the brain and nerves.*—The great demand for fewer meetings is a direct result of the nervous and mental strain experienced by Conference attendants. The voluntary action of the Associate Groups in eliminating luncheon and dinner meetings during most of Conference week will greatly help this situation. A real reduction in Division meetings will also reduce the strain. A reduction in the length of meetings so as to allow a longer interval between the morning meetings will further reduce the strain. The new plan should definitely provide for radical reduction of strain and confusion.

Finally, we believe the new plan of program organization should accomplish two main objectives. First it should bring together various special interests around common functions in social work for conference and discussion of common and related problems, techniques, goals, relationships, etc. Second, it should provide for presentation and discussion of topics of particular interest or importance that do not easily come within a functional classification. In this way the Conference can have a synthesizing influence and at the same time give adequate opportunity for a variety of needs, diversified interests and emergency problems. This may seem paradoxical but it is practical.

THE PROPOSED PLAN OF PROGRAM ORGANIZATION

A. *Abolish all existing Divisions at the close of the Kansas City annual meeting.*—An attempt to patch up the existing set-up will probably create more difficulties than it will cure.

B. *At the Kansas City meeting establish not less than three nor more than six new sections on functional lines.*—The following are suggested for immediate organization.

- I. Social Case Work
- II. Social Group Work
- III. Community Organization
- IV. Social Action. (This should be generally defined as covering mobilization of public opinion, legislation and public administration.)

The scope of each such section will be fairly obvious. Finer definitions, if necessary, can be worked out from year to year.

The following functions or methods of social work, namely, Social Research, Social Work Interpretation, Professional Training and Standards should be considered in their relation to the four suggested above.

These sections will be the core of the program. Each section should be in charge of a section committee of not less than nine nor more than fifteen members with a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and Secretary. The officers and one-third of the committee membership should be elected annually, the officers to serve for one year and subject to re-election for one year but not more. The committee members should serve for three

years. So far as possible the various related professional groups shall have representation and no person should be a member of more than one section committee.

Election of section officers and committee members should be, as is the present practice in Divisions, by nomination of the Section and election by the Conference membership by majority vote. It is suggested, in order that more careful consideration be given to the nomination and election of section officers and committee members, that the same process of nomination a year in advance and election by mail ballot sent to all members of the Conference be adopted for Section committees as is now the case with the officers and Executive Committee of the Conference. Persons nominated for the offices or committees of Sections should either be members of the Conference or on the staff or boards of member agencies.

The chairmen of section committees should be members of the Conference Program Committee rather than at present members of the Executive Committee.

The number and scope of the sections should be reconsidered as a whole at least every five years and such changes as may seem desirable should be made upon the recommendation of the Program Committee, and by vote of the Conference. Changes in the scope, number of meetings, etc., of each Section should be made at any time upon the recommendation of the Program Committee, providing the Section Committee voluntarily agrees to such modifications.

At any annual meeting each Section should be limited to a maximum of six meetings, one of which might be used for a series of not more than five simultaneous group discussions.

C. Grant to the Conference Program Committee the power to establish either upon request or its own initiative as many Committees on Special Topics as may seem desirable and at the time establish their limitations as to number and character of meetings each year and the number of years they shall continue.—This makes possible a wide variety of committee organization which can be adapted to the needs of the particular situation. It is extremely doubtful, if given this power, the Program Committee would find it desirable or necessary to provide for more than ten such committees holding an average of more than two meetings in any given year.

Let us compare the annual meeting of the Conference if organized as outlined above with the present set-up. Assuming that four Sections would be immediately established and each one use the maximum number of meetings allowed (including simultaneous group discussions), there would be a total of forty Section meetings. Assuming that the Program Committee should authorize ten committees, holding an average of two meetings each, it would add twenty more meetings, a grand total of sixty. Under the present set-up of Divisions, the grand total is 110. The proposed organization, therefore, reduces the possible number of meetings by nearly half. The same forces which now tend toward the actual use of less than the maximum would still exist (joint sessions, voluntary desire to concentrate interest, etc.). Certainly such a plan of organization would be more simple and elastic than now exists. By the process of election of committee members and officers, the control would be democratic. The proposed Sections would bring together various organizational and technical interests around common functions, problems, and relationships. The special committees would give ample opportunity for a variety of special interests and subject matter. The Program Committee would have the power within reasonable limits to modify, contract or expand the program structure as the situation might demand.

CENTRALIZED PLANNING AND LEADERSHIP

In order for any organization to function efficiently, responsibility must be centralized and definite. Responsibility for the organization of the program would rest, in the proposed plan, with the Program Committee and co-ordination of the program plans,

not only for the Conference as such but also for the Associate and Special Groups, would rest with the Program Conference.

The Program Committee, under the new plan, would consist of the present nine members (the President of the Conference, Chairman, the retiring President, and the General Secretary, ex-officio, and the six members, two elected each year by the Executive Committee for terms of three years) and the Chairman of new Sections. This would give a total membership of from thirteen to fifteen members of whom six would be continuing in office and from seven to nine would be new members each year. With the single exception of the General Secretary, the entire personnel changes over a period of three years.

The Program Committee would have all the powers and responsibilities now provided in the Constitution and By-Laws of the Conference and the added powers suggested above. It would bring into one effective group the leadership definitely responsible for program planning and making, and hence be in a position not only to make recommendations but carry them out.

The Program Conference would be composed of the Program Committee, which includes the Section chairmen, the Chairmen of all special committees established by the Program Committee, and the representatives of all Associate and Special Groups. At these two conferences, one in October and the other in January, program plans are presented and discussed, joint sessions arranged and supplementary and complementary programs provided. Duplication of subject matter is eliminated. The Program Conference considers the program as a whole and brings the Associate Groups definitely into the program planning process.

A QUADRENNIAL MEETING OF DIFFERENT CHARACTER

Limitations of time and pressure of work ordinarily make it necessary to confine the annual meeting of the Conference to a single week. However, we suggest the consideration of a different type of annual meeting once every four years. In this year the annual meeting could be held on some university campus, equipped with ample dormitories and dining hall facilities, thus reducing the cost of living. The length of the meeting would be extended to three or possibly four weeks with the expectation that few people could stay all the way through but that they would be coming in and going home at intervals throughout the period. Probably not more than one-third of the total attendance would be present at any given time. The program, instead of using a maximum of large meetings of the more formal character, could be broken down into a large variety of smaller discussion meetings, round tables, study groups, etc. Selective groups could be organized for a series of discussions, admission to others could be by application and still others wide open. Such groups could well be arranged either by Conference Section committees or by Associate Groups for their particular clientele. One-third of each day would be left free for recreation, personal conference, or quiet study. Associate Group meetings could be spread through the entire three weeks and thus avoid much of the present competition.

The possibilities of such a plan can only be hinted at here. We believe the idea is worth serious consideration.

We recommend that if some plan of reorganization as outlined above is adopted that it be regarded as a four year experiment. For purposes of immediate action, the Program Committee or the Executive Committee of the Conference could well appoint the Section committees for the first year (1935), and the process of election, etc., be operative thereafter—1936, 1937, 1938. If the suggestion of the longer meeting of different character to be held quadrennially receives approval, we recommend that it be scheduled for 1937. And it is further recommended that in 1938, in the light of the

experience of the preceding years, the whole question of program organization be raised for such modification as may then seem wise.

In order to bring the matter before the meeting for action the necessary changes in the Constitution and By-Laws to carry out the recommendations of the Program Committee were presented. After full opportunity for discussion and upon motion duly made and seconded it was voted to amend the Constitution and By-Laws so that they would read as follows:

CONSTITUTION

COMMITTEES

The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, the First Vice-President, and the Treasurer ex-officio, and fifteen other members who shall be elected by the Conference, five each year for a term of three years; vacancies shall be filled in like manner. The Executive Committee shall hold all of the powers of the Conference between meetings, not otherwise reserved or delegated. It may enact rules supplementing the By-Laws and not in conflict with them. The President shall be ex-officio chairman; five members shall constitute a quorum at all sessions of this committee.

BY-LAWS

SECTION 4, PARAGRAPH 2

Program Committee. There shall be a Program Committee which shall consist of the President-elect, the retiring President, the General Secretary, six members, two to be elected each year by the Executive Committee of the Conference, for terms of three years, and the chairmen of all continuous sections.

The said Committee shall have the following functions:

- a) To receive suggestions from Conference members, various Section, Special Topic, and Associate Group Committees, social workers, social agencies, and others interested, for subjects or speakers for the National Conference program.
- b) To canvass the social work field continuously, to discover material that could be used advantageously on the Conference program.
- c) To determine, from year to year, various major emphases for the program as a whole.
- d) To recommend to Section and Special Topic Committees subject matter or methods of presentation of subject matter for their meetings to be used at the discretion of the Section and Special Topic Committees.
- e) To arrange where desirable, more than a year in advance, for material to be prepared for the Conference Topic Committees. Where such commitments are made for Section programs, such commitments are to be made only upon the request of the Section involved or with its hearty co-operation and consent, and for not more than one-third of the number of sessions allowed at each annual meeting.
- f) To arrange the schedule for joint sessions of Sections.
- g) To have sole responsibility for the evening General Sessions programs.
- h) To establish such regulations as are needed from time to time for the control of the extent of the program as a whole.
- i) To provide adequate ways and means for active participation of Associate Groups in the construction of the program as a whole.

j) To execute such other functions from time to time as may be assigned to it by the Executive Committee or the Conference membership.

k) To arrange, with the approval of the Executive Committee, such consultations and other meetings as may be necessary to carry out its functions.

l) To establish either upon its own initiation or upon request, such Committees on Special Topics as may be desirable. When establishing such Committees on Special Topics, the Program Committee shall also determine definitely the term of service of the Committee on a Special Topic and such other regulations as to frequency of meeting, number of sessions at any annual meeting and so forth as may be desirable.

SECTIONS

a) The programs of the Conference shall be grouped under Sections of which the following shall be continuous: (I) Social Case Work; (II) Social Group Work; (III) Community Organization; (IV) Social Action.¹

b) Other Sections may be created for a period of one or more years by the Executive Committee or by the membership at the annual meeting provided the proposal therefor shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee. All Sections shall be reconsidered by the Executive Committee at intervals of not more than five years and recommendations for such modifications as may be desirable presented at the annual meeting for action by the Conference membership.

c) Each continuous section shall be in charge of a committee of not less than nine members nominated by the section members one year in advance and elected by the same method as the officers and Executive Committee of the Conference. One-third of the members of the Section Committee shall be elected each year to serve terms of three years each. Persons nominated for officers or Section committee members should so far as possible be members of the Conference or on the staff or board of member agencies. No person shall serve on more than one Section Committee. So far as possible, related professional groups shall have representation on Section Committees.

d) Each other Section not continuous shall be in charge of a committee appointed by the Executive Committee, or if created by the membership, in such manner as the membership shall determine at the annual meeting.

e) Each Section shall have power: (1) To arrange the annual Conference programs coming within its field, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee upon recommendation by the Conference Program Committee. (2) To arrange the annual business meeting of the Divisions and to provide for the nominations of officers and committee for the succeeding year.

f) Each Section shall annually nominate one year in advance a chairman and vice-chairman to be elected by the same method as the officers and Executive Committee of the Conference. The Chairman may be reelected once. The Section Committee shall each year elect a Section Secretary.

g) Vacancies in the Section Committee shall be filled at the annual meeting in the same manner as the election of new members. Vacancies in the office of chairman or secretary between meetings shall be filled by the Section Committee, subject to the approval of the Conference Executive Committee.

h) The Conference Executive Committee shall have general supervision over the work of all Section Committees with the final power to pass on all programs, in order to insure the harmonious conduct of all parts of the work.

¹ This should be generally defined as covering mobilization of public opinion, legislation, and public administration.

SECTION MEETINGS

All meetings of the Conference except General Sessions shall be arranged so as to facilitate informal discussion. The Chairmen of Sections shall preside at the meetings of their Sections or shall appoint presiding officers in their stead.

It was called to the attention of the Conference that the adoption of the amendments above mentioned would reduce the membership of the Executive Committee to fifteen. It was also pointed out that heretofore the Second and Third Vice-Presidents were not members of the Executive Committee. Upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee and motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to amend that paragraph of the Constitution headed "Committees" so as to read as follows:

The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, First, Second, and Third Vice-Presidents and the Treasurer ex-officio and twenty-one other members who shall be elected by the Conference, seven each year for a term of three years. Vacancies shall be filled in like manner. The Executive Committee shall hold all the powers of the Conference between meetings not otherwise reserved or delegated. It may enact rules supplementing the By-Laws and not in conflict with them. The President shall be the ex-officio Chairman. Seven members shall constitute a quorum at all sessions of this Committee.

Upon motion duly made and seconded it was voted that the Executive Committee establish the new program organization as adopted above by appointment for the first year.

A member of the Conference then asked the permission of the Chairman to present a representative of a local labor union to explain the labor difficulties at one of the hotels being used by the Conference. After complete explanation of the labor union's representative of their side of the case and upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted that the Conference ask the Kansas City Committee on Arrangements to look into the situation at the Phillips Hotel and take such action as it deemed fit.

There being no further business and upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to adjourn.

Friday, May 25, 1934, 8:30 P.M.

The report of the Committee on Tellers being called for, the Chairman, Mr. Raymond Clapp, Ohio, presented the following report:

The following officers were elected: President: Katharine F. Lenroot; First Vice-President: The Very Reverend Monsignor Robert F. Keegan; Second Vice-President: Helen Hall; Third Vice-President: C. Whit Pfeiffer.

A total of 876 ballots was cast for members of the Executive Committee, of which 225 were invalid because of errors in voting, leaving 651 valid votes. Those candidates elected to the Executive Committee are: Mary Irene Atkinson, Stanley P. Davies, Samuel A. Goldsmith, John F. Hall, Kate McMahon.

Respectfully submitted,
RAYMOND CLAPP, *Chairman*
Committee on Tellers

The report of the Committee on Nominations for election at the annual meeting of 1935 being called for, Mr. Wilfred Reynolds, Chicago, in the absence of the Chairman presented the following report:

The Nominating Committee respectfully submits the following names to be presented to the National Conference of Social Work of 1935: President: The Right Reverend Monsignor Robert F. Keegan, Executive Director, Catholic Charities, New York City; First Vice-President: Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, Professor, Graduate School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois; Second Vice-President: Charlotte Whitton, Executive Secretary, Canadian Council of Child Welfare, Ottawa, Canada; Third Vice-President: Margaret Reeves, Director, State Bureau of Child Welfare, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

The following members of the National Conference of Social Work were nominated for the Executive Committee: Elwood Street, Director, Public Welfare of District of Columbia, Washington, D.C.; Frank Bane, Director, American Public Welfare Association, Chicago, Illinois; Leila Kinney, School of Public Welfare Administration, Political Science Department, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio; Walter West, Executive Secretary, American Association of Social Workers, New York City; Elsa Castendyke, Executive Secretary, Washburn Children's Home Society, Minneapolis, Minnesota; Ina Tyler, Field Representative, Extension Division, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa; Gay B. Shepperson, Secretary, State Department of Public Welfare, Atlanta, Georgia; Michael M. Davis, Director, Medical Services, Julius Rosenwald Fund, Chicago, Illinois; Peter Kasius, General Manager, Provident Association, St. Louis, Missouri; The Reverend Thomas O'Dwyer, Director, Catholic Charities, Los Angeles, California; Howard S. Braucher, Secretary, National Recreation Association, New York City; Harry Greenstein, Director, Federal Relief, Baltimore, Maryland; Jacob Kepcs, Jewish Home Finding Society, Chicago, Illinois; Josephine Brown, Administrative Assistant, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Washington, D.C.

To fill the terms expiring in 1936 the Nominating Committee submits the following names: W. Frank Persons, Director, United States Employment Service, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.; Justin Miller, Dean of College of Law, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina; Joanna C. Colcord, Director, Charity Organization Department, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City; Fred C. Croxton, Columbus, Ohio.

Respectfully submitted,

MRS. BLANCHE L. LADU, *Chairman*
Nominating Committee

Saturday, May 26, 1934, 1:00 P.M.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions being called for, Mr. Maurice Willows, acting Chairman, presented the following resolutions:

WHEREAS, The 1934 National Conference of Social Work has found Kansas City a gracious and hospitable host, and

WHEREAS, The members and delegates to the Conference have benefited by the efficient arrangements for the work of the Conference; and

WHEREAS, All who attended the various sessions have profited by the timely, earnest, and stimulating programs presented, now be it

Resolved, That this Conference express to the city of Kansas City its appreciation for the interest and support of the *Proceedings* of the Conference; that this Conference extends to the Kansas City Committee on Arrangements individually and collectively its deep appreciation of their work in behalf of the Conference members and delegates;

That particular acknowledgments are due the Kansas City social workers who gave so freely and generously of their time and effort during the long weeks of planning for the Conference.

Be it further resolved, That the Conference express its thanks and appreciation to the newspapers of Kansas City—the *Kansas City Star*, *Kansas City Times*, and the *Journal Post*—for their co-operation in reporting the meetings of the Conference.

WHEREAS, The Hotel Men's Association gave their rooms for meeting purposes, supplied the unfailing and courteous service of their employees, and co-operated in every way, be it

Resolved, That the National Conference of Social Work extend to the Hotel Men's Association of the city of Kansas City its grateful appreciation and thanks.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously voted to adopt the report of the Committee.

The President announced that the final registration at the Sixty-first Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Social Work was 4,420.

At the close of the meeting the Conference adjourned to reassemble in Montreal, June 9-15, 1935.

PART IV
CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE
NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF
SOCIAL WORK

CONSTITUTION AS REVISED

PREAMBLE

The National Conference of Social Work exists to facilitate discussion of the problems and methods of practical human improvement, to increase the efficiency of agencies and institutions devoted to this cause, and to disseminate information. It does not formulate platforms.

MEMBERSHIP

An individual or organization interested in the purposes and work of the National Conference may, upon payment of the prescribed membership fee for their membership classification, become a member of the Conference. Membership in the Conference shall be of the following classes: (1) honorary members—to be selected and elected by the Executive Committee; (2) active members; (3) sustaining members; (4) institutional members; (5) contributing members; (6) state members. State board and commissions supporting the Conference through subscription to the *Proceedings*, the enlistment of memberships or otherwise financially, shall be designated "state members."

OFFICERS

The officers of the Conference shall be a President, First, Second, and Third Vice-Presidents, a General Secretary, six or more Assistant Secretaries, and a Treasurer.

The President and Vice-Presidents shall be elected annually by the Conference; the Assistant Secretaries shall be appointed by the General Secretary, and the remaining officers shall be appointed by the Executive Committee.

COMMITTEES

The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, First, Second, and Third Vice-Presidents and the Treasurer ex-officio, and twenty-one other members who shall be elected by the Conference, seven each year for a term of three years. Vacancies shall be filled in like manner. The Executive Committee shall hold all the powers of the Conference between meetings, not otherwise reserved or delegated. It may enact rules supplementing the By-Laws and not in conflict with them. The President shall be the ex-officio

BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS

Chairman. Seven members shall constitute a quorum at all sessions of this Committee.

The President shall appoint the committees named in the By-Laws and such other committees as may be ordered by the Conference or the Executive Committee from time to time.

ANNUAL MEETINGS

The Conference shall meet annually at such time and place as may be determined by the preceding Conference, as provided in the By-Laws. The Executive Committee shall have authority to change the time or place of the annual meeting in case satisfactory local arrangements cannot be made or for other urgent reason. The first day of the annual session shall be defined to be that day on which the first regular public meeting of the Conference is held.

GENERAL SECRETARY

The General Secretary shall be the executive officer of the Conference and shall perform his duties under such rules as may be prescribed by the By-Laws or by the Executive Committee.

AMENDMENTS

This Constitution and the By-Laws under it may be amended at any business meeting of the Conference, provided that such amendment shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

BY-LAWS

I. MEMBERSHIP FEES

Membership fees for the following classifications shall be: for active members with the *Proceedings*, \$5; without the *Proceedings*, \$3; for sustaining members, \$10; for institutional members, \$25 (no individual shall be entitled to hold institutional membership, this membership being reserved solely for agencies, organizations, and institutions); for contributing members, \$25 or over. (Contributing memberships may be limited to individuals contributing \$25 or over and to such organizations as may contribute any sum in excess of membership fee for an institutional membership and which shall elect to be classed as contributing rather than as institutional members.) Sustaining members, institutional members, and contributing members shall be entitled to receive both the *Bulletin* and the annual volume of *Proceedings*. All members shall be entitled to receive the *Bulletin*.

2. DUTIES OF OFFICERS

The President shall be chairman ex-officio of both the Executive and Program Committees. He shall appoint all committees except the Executive Committee unless otherwise ordered by the Conference or by the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer shall keep the funds of the Conference in such bank as may be designated by the Executive Committee. He shall keep his accounts in such form as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee and pay out funds on voucher checks in form to be prescribed by the Executive Committee, and his accounts shall be audited annually by a firm of certified accountants appointed annually by the Executive Committee. He shall give bond in an amount approximating the largest amount of Conference funds held at his disposal at any one time, the expense of the bond to be paid by the Conference.

The General Secretary shall have charge of the office and records of the Conference, and shall conduct its business and correspondence under the direction of the Executive Committee. He shall make arrangements for the annual meeting. He shall direct the activities of the Assistant Secretaries. He shall be the official editor of the volume of proceedings, the periodical bulletin, and other publications of the Conference. He shall develop the membership of the Conference and shall perform such other duties as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee. He shall receive such compensation as shall be fixed by the Executive Committee.

3. FINANCE

The financial management of the Conference shall be vested in the Executive Committee. No final action involving finances shall be taken by the Conference unless the question shall have first been submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee may accept donations for purposes germane to the work of the Conference, provided that no endowment funds shall be accepted in perpetuity; but all such funds must be subject to change of objects or to immediate expenditure; but such change or expenditure must be authorized by a three-fourths vote of the members of the Conference present at a regular meeting and such proposition must first have been submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

4. APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES

1. Within three months after the adjournment of the annual meeting, the President shall appoint the following named committees:

a) A Committee of three on Resolutions, to which all resolutions shall be referred without debate. No final action shall be taken on any resolution involving a matter of policy at the same session at which it is reported by the Committee on Resolutions.

b) A Committee of twenty or more on Time and Place of the Next Meeting. This committee shall meet on the second day of the annual meeting for the purpose of receiving invitations from cities, and shall give a reasonable time for the presentation of such invitations. In the proceedings of the committee only the votes of members present shall be counted. The committee shall report to the Executive Committee of the Conference not later than the fourth day of the meeting, and the Executive Committee shall transmit this report

to the Conference with its approval or other findings thereon. Action on the report of the committee shall be by a rising vote. The city receiving the highest vote shall be selected.

c) A Nominating Committee of nine members, none of whom shall be an officer or a member of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

2. Program Committee. There shall be a Program Committee which shall consist of the President-elect, the retiring President, the General Secretary, six members, two to be elected each year by the Executive Committee of the Conference, for terms of three years, and the chairmen of all continuous sections.

The said Committee shall have the following functions:

a) To receive suggestions from Conference members, various Section, Special Topic, and Associate Group Committees, social workers, social agencies, and others interested, for subjects or speakers for the National Conference program.

b) To canvass the social work field continuously, to discover material that could be used advantageously on the Conference program.

c) To determine, from year to year, various major emphases for the program as a whole.

d) To recommend to Section and Special Topic Committees subject matter or methods of presentation of subject matter for their meetings to be used at the discretion of the Section and Special Topic Committees.

e) To arrange where desirable, more than a year in advance, for material to be prepared for the Conference Topic Committees. Where such commitments are made for Section programs, such commitments are to be made only upon the request of the Section involved or with its hearty co-operation and consent, and for not more than one-third of the number of sessions allowed at each annual meeting.

f) To arrange the schedule for joint sessions of Sections.

g) To have sole responsibility for the evening General Sessions programs.

h) To establish such regulations as are needed from time to time for the control of the extent of the program as a whole.

i) To provide adequate ways and means for active participation of Associate Groups in the construction of the program as a whole.

j) To execute such other functions from time to time as may be assigned to it by the Executive Committee or the Conference membership.

k) To arrange, with the approval of the Executive Committee, such consultations and other meetings as may be necessary to carry out its functions.

l) To establish either upon its own initiation or upon request, such Committees on Special Topics as may be desirable. When establishing such Committees on Special Topics, the Program Committee shall also determine definitely the term of service of the Committee on a Special Topic and such other regulations as to frequency of meeting, number of sessions at any annual meeting and so forth as may be desirable.

5. SECTIONS

a) The programs of the Conference shall be grouped under Sections of which the following shall be continuous: (I) Social Case Work; (II) Social Group Work; (III) Community Organization; (IV) Social Action.¹

b) Other Sections may be created for a period of one or more years by the Executive Committee or by the membership at the annual meeting provided the proposal therefor shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee. All Sections shall be reconsidered by the Executive Committee at intervals of not more than five years and recommendations for such modifications as may be desirable presented at the annual meeting for action by the Conference membership.

c) Each continuous section shall be in charge of a committee of not less than nine members nominated by the section members one year in advance and elected by the same method as the officers and Executive Committee of the Conference. One-third of the members of the Section Committee shall be elected each year to serve terms of three years each. Persons nominated for officers or Section committee members should so far as possible be members of the Conference or on the staff or board of member agencies. No person shall serve on more than one Section Committee. So far as possible, related professional groups shall have representation on Section Committees.

d) Each other Section not continuous shall be in charge of a committee appointed by the Executive Committee, or if created by the membership, in such manner as the membership shall determine at the annual meeting.

e) Each Section shall have power: (1) To arrange the annual Conference programs coming within its field, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee upon recommendation by the Conference Program Committee. (2) To arrange the annual business meeting of the Section and to provide for the nominations of officers and committee for the succeeding year.

f) Each Section shall annually nominate one year in advance a chairman and vice-chairman to be elected by the same method as the officers and Executive Committee of the Conference. The Chairman may be reelected once. The Section Committee shall each year elect a Section Secretary.

g) Vacancies in the Section Committee shall be filled at the annual meeting in the same manner as the election of new members. Vacancies in the office of chairman or secretary between meetings shall be filled by the Section Committee, subject to the approval of the Conference Executive Committee.

h) The Conference Executive Committee shall have general supervision over the work of all Section Committees with the final power to pass on all programs, in order to insure the harmonious conduct of all parts of the work.

6. ASSOCIATE GROUPS

Independent associations may arrange with the National Conference Executive Committee for meetings to be held immediately before or during

¹ This should be generally defined as covering mobilization of public opinion, legislation and public administration.

the annual meeting of the National Conference. The Executive Committee shall make such rules and regulations as it may deem necessary from time to time for such meetings.

7. SUBMISSION OF QUESTIONS

Any Division or group desiring to submit any question to the Conference shall present it to the Executive Committee for preliminary consideration, at least twenty-four hours before the final adjournment of the Conference, and the Executive Committee shall report on such questions with its recommendation before final adjournment.

8. BUSINESS SESSIONS

At the annual meeting at least one session shall be held at which only matters of business shall be considered. The time of this session shall be announced in the last issue of the *Bulletin* preceding the meeting. The officers of the Conference shall endeavor to concentrate on this occasion as much as possible of the business of the Conference.

Any person may vote at any annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work, provided (1) That he is a member in good standing at the time of such meeting, and (2) That he was a member in good standing at the last preceding annual meeting. However, if he was not in good standing at the time of such meeting by reason of non-payment of dues, then subsequent payment of such dues shall satisfy the requirements of this subsection.

Any institutional member, or any institution which is a contributing member as defined in Article I of these By-Laws, may cast its vote at any annual meeting of the Conference by designating any member of its board or staff who shall appear personally to cast the said ballot.

9. VOTING QUORUM

At any business session fifty members shall constitute a quorum.

10. SECTION MEETINGS

All meetings of the Conference except General Sessions shall be arranged so as to facilitate informal discussion. The Chairmen of Sections shall preside at the meetings of their Sections or shall appoint presiding officers in their stead.

11. MINUTES

A certified copy of the minutes of the business transactions of the annual meeting, excepting official documents, shall be posted by the General Secretary on the official bulletin board at least three hours before the final meeting of each annual session, in order that the said minutes may be corrected by the Conference, if any question of accuracy be raised before adjournment.

12. LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS

All local arrangements for the annual meeting shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

13. NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF OFFICERS

1. The Nominating Committee shall have the function of nominating one or more persons for each of the offices of President, First Vice-President, Second Vice-President, and Third Vice-President, and at least twice as many persons for members of the Executive Committee as there are vacancies in that body.

2. Suggestions of names of persons for any of these positions may be submitted to the Nominating Committee by any members of the Conference at any time following the committee's appointment and up to the time of the committee's announcement of the list of nominations.

3. Within ninety days of its appointment, the Nominating Committee shall, through the *Bulletin*, solicit suggestions of names of persons for the offices to be filled, and shall renew such solicitation in each succeeding *Bulletin* up to the time of announcing the list of nominations. The committee shall appoint a place at or near headquarters on the first day of the annual meeting and shall announce the same, at which suggestions for nominations shall be received by them up to 1:00 P.M. of the fourth day of the annual meeting.

4. After taking into consideration the names suggested by the Conference members, but not necessarily confining their consideration to these names, the committee shall draw up a list of nominations as previously specified, and the same shall be announced at the General Session on the evening of the sixth day of the Conference one year in advance of the Conference at which they are to be elected. The list of nominees shall be published in the next succeeding issue of the Conference *Bulletin* following the announcement.

5. Additional nominations may be made by petition of not less than twenty-five members, properly addressed to the chairman of the Nominating Committee and filed at the Conference office not later than January 1 preceding the Conference at which they are to be elected.

6. A final list of all nominations shall be published in the first issue of the Conference *Bulletin* published after January 1.

7. The official ballot shall be the so called Cleveland ballot, and shall be so prepared that the member may vote for as many candidates as he may desire, in order of preference.

8. The official ballot shall be sent by mail, to their address of record in the Conference office, to all members of the Conference entitled to vote, or who may become entitled to vote, by the renewal of membership or otherwise, not later than sixty days before the date designated each year for the closing of the polls. Ballots may be returned by mail to the Conference office, but must be received in said office not later than the tenth day preceding the announced date of the first session of the annual Conference; or they may be deposited at the polling place provided at Conference headquarters, at any time during the period during which said polling place is officially open. Ballots returned by mail must be signed by the voter, and shall be discarded as invalid if received without such signature.

9. A polling place shall be established and maintained on the fourth day of the Conference, to be open for at least four hours, at such times as may be de-

cided upon and announced by the Executive Committee. The polling place shall also be maintained between the hours of 8:00 A.M. and 5:00 P.M. on the fifth day of the annual meeting, provided that such day shall not fall on Sunday, in which case the election shall occur on the sixth day. After the time herein specified for voting has expired, the ballots shall be counted by a committee of three tellers appointed by the President, and the result shall be announced at the next general session of the Conference. The ballots shall be counted and election determined by the so called Hare method. Regulations for the application of this method shall be developed by the Executive Committee, and shall be furnished to the committee of tellers for their instruction.

10. The Nominating Committee appointed for the Conference year 1931-32 shall prepare a list of nominations for election at the annual Conference of 1932, which election shall be conducted as provided in the Constitution and By-Laws as of June 1, 1931. They shall also prepare a list of nominations for election at the annual Conference of 1933, which election shall be conducted as provided in sections 1-9, above.

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